Streets of modernism: an analysis of change and stability in the streetscapes of Central Edinburgh, 1978-94

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I declare that the work for this thesis has been carried out by me, and where work by other has been incorporated, it has duly been acknowledged and referenced.

While the street can be construed as a "primary symbol" of modern life (Berman, 1982), recent analyses of changing patterns of consumption have often focused on some permutation of the mall (Shields, 1989; Johnson, 1991; Gottdiener, 1995), Disneyland (Zukin, 1991; Warren, 1994) or the festival marketplace (Goss, 1996; Hannigan, 1998), rather than on the understudied urban street (Gregson, 1995; Jackson and Thrift, 1995). The thesis examines the street as the site of the experiences of modern urbanism.

Occupant and use data for some 1600 sites in two areas of central Edinburgh from 34 ground surveys performed between 1978 and 1994 were collected. A GIS/database was then used to construct a "spatial narrative" (Meethan, 1996) to study in detail the composition of the urban street and generate a 'history' (Morris, 1988) of the street's persistence and change. Analysis of this data calls into question the universality and applicability of many narratives of urban change.

The street is revealed to represent the simultaneous manifestation of constant change intermixed with overwhelming levels of historical persistence, typified by Berman's (1982)identification of the dualism of change and stability as the central dialectic of the modern experience. Considerable evidence of high and increasing levels of homogeneity in the street is identified, but only in very limited geographic areas, questioning the local specificity of wider globalisation narratives (Zukin, 1990; Massey, 1994). The increasing importance of leisure as a component of the street is clear, although several markedly different types of change can be identified within the data.

While a thesis is an individual effort, a number of people have given me assistance, and I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge their assistance. In particular, I would like to thank my supervisors, George Hughes from the Department of Geography, and Professor John Dawson from the School of Business, for their continued support and perceptive insights. Members of staff, fellow students and friends in the Department of Geography have been helpful and supportive and deserve considerable credit.

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As this thesis uses several common terms in very particular ways, a glossary of definitions follows to aid the reader when following the (occasionally) rather dense language used with the more abstract theoretical and analytical arguments.

Area

While it is common to refer to an area as the space/place surrounding a particular reference, this particular use is generally avoided in this thesis. Each of the two study regions was subdivided into a number of Areas, each representing several contiguous blocks (see Figures 4.8 and 4.9). Thus, references to Areas (upper-case A) refer to these particular geographic locations/aggregations, rather than being general descriptors. More general uses of area (small case a) have been replaced wherever possible by references to locales or neighbourhoods.

Bricolage

A bricolage is a sign/object constructed from whatever materials and tools are immediately available. It infers that the object/experience in question is undoubtedly both local and authentic. Descriptions of experiences as representing a 'postmodern bricolage' question these notions of authenticity and experience, questioning the distinction between artifice and reality, perception and authenticity. As such, the postmodern use of the term refers to the use of symbols and objects in ways which while **appearing** to be authentic, are suspected to be the result of detailed and sophisticated 'imagineering' techniques used by segments of corporate capital as part of the construction of the postmodern 'Fantasy City'.

Chain

References to Chains within the thesis refer to what are commonly known as Chains and Multiples (i.e. stores that form part of national or multi-national chains, e.g. Boots, Marks and Spencer). However, a very different definition of Multiples is used in the thesis, and the two terms should **not** be read as synonymous.

Festival Marketplace

Festival Marketplaces are (relatively) local/small scale areas that have been redeveloped and turned into retail/leisure facilities. These sites rely upon the redevelopment of historic or heritage buildings and areas (e.g. Covent Garden, Princes Square in Glasgow), though they are often expanded with complementary construction (e.g. Quincy Market in Boston). These areas provide a mix of leisure and retail facilities that play upon visions of local heritage and culture within a somewhat genuine historic environment. It is arguable that portions of the Royal Mile share many characteristics of such developments, although these typically are under the control of a single developer/constructor or Development Authority, which is not the case with the Royal Mile.

Liminal

Liminal experiences (and places) are those where there is a disjuncture between the expected (experience, behaviour etc.) and the reality of people's use and experience of those places. As such, liminality is used here to describe practices of appropriation, where traditional expectations (of usage, of propriety, etc.) are marginalised (or even actively flouted) and people shape (and are shaped in turn by) places and experiences to meet their desires and wants. Typically, liminal uses of a shopping mall, ostensibly a (de-politicised) place of consumption, include the use of the mall as a recreational place, a social environment, a place of socialisation (where socialisation is divorced from that inherent in the processes of consumption — through peer pressure, etc.), a place to see and be seen, and so on. Many postmodern environments are created with a wealth of potential experiences, allowing the participant/consumer the option to choose those which suit them in the generation of a custom experience.

Local/Neighbourhood

Given that Areas refers to particular geographic spaces/places, the terms 'local' and 'neighbourhood' are used (synonymously) as euphemisms where 'area' might normally be used.

Meme

An idea, behaviour, style, or usage (of a term, object etc.) that passes throughout a culture from person to person, such that it has a widespread understanding/appreciation. Used here as a synonym for theory or idea.

Multiple

The literature typically treats Chains and Multiples as synonymous. In this thesis, the term 'multiples' is used to refer to situations where one occupant occupies two or more sites (in one or spanning both study regions) during a survey period. Thus, the large numbers of branches of the larger High Street banks (e.g. Bank of Scotland, Royal Bank of Scotland, Clydesdale) are classified as multiples, while Tesco, represented by only one store in the St. Giles region (and not at all in the Princes Street region), is not. Thus, Chains and Multiples are not synonymous: it is possible to have non-chain multiples (multiple sites which are not occupied by chain stores); non-multiple chains (chain stores occupying only one site in the study area); and chain-multiples (chains occupying multiple sites in the same survey year).

Region

As with the use of 'Area', Region (capital R) in this context refers to the **entirety** of the portion of Edinburgh covered by each Goad Map. Hence the St. Giles and Princes Street Regions.

Trope

A trope is an expression used in a figurative sense, as a simile or metaphor. Hence when identifying Disneyland as a postmodern trope, the author is referring to Disneyland's metaphoric place (and in particular that of Main Street USA) within postmodern urban iconography, including visions of the people-friendly street and city.

Chapter 4

Chapter 6

Chapter 7

Appendices

Chapter 4

Chapter 6

Chapter 7

Appendices

Chapter 6

Chapter 7

Chapter 1: The Place of the Street

> Buildings cannot survive without streets; they indicate one another, and serve on another. The street encompasses a fundamental principle of space... Far from being another bland component of the city, the street is its most essential and most ambiguous spatial unity... the street is not just narrative, but an open framework for the drama of everyday life (Coates, 1988: p. 107).

The street, that most ephemeral yet universal of urban spaces, remains arguably one of the most important, the most contentious, and yet least understood of all the places that make up the city. The street is one of the fundamental spatial metaphors, the city's "most essential and most ambiguous spatial unit", representing the model for "the play between public and private, static and mobile, restraint and release" (Coates, 1988: p. 107). The growth of an urban public culture is synonymous with the development of "cultures of the streets" (Howell, 1993; Zukin, 1995: p. 189), where "everyday street-life nourished modern experiences and values" (Dear, 1995: p. 36; see also Jacobs, 1961), and where the street is key to understanding the changing urban experience (de Certeau, 1984; Coates, 1988). From the grid of city streets (Sennett, 1990) to the surveillance cameras that watch us (Fyfe and Bannister, 1996) to the postmodern Fantasy City of spectacle (Hannigan, 1998) to the rationing of services by post-code, the street imposes its particular structures upon us.

Despite its centrality, the street has not been a focus of analysis for many geographers. This is not to say that the street has no importance: it is central to the work of Jacobs (1961), Zukin (1995) and Whyte (1980; 1988). The position of the street within the literature is somewhat problematic: it lies below the wider sweeping analyses of the city, yet above that of the site (Jackson and Thrift, 1995); somewhat to the side of analyses of the mall (Bunce, 1983; Shields, 1989) and the festival market (Boyer, 1992; Goss, 1996); and somewhat tangential even to discussions of urbanity (Madani-Pour, 1996).

More to the point, the street represents the confluence of a multiplicity of implicit and often highly contradictory roles within current urban thought. From the liminal territory of the postmodern flâneur (Shields, 1991), to the non-space of Corbusier's 'machine for traffic', to the site of alienation and

placelessness articulated through corporate architecture and the exclusionary 'blank wall' of the apocalyptic urbanism of Whyte (1988) and Davis (1992), to the internalised streets of the mall (Goss, 1993) and the site of visions of local and authentic urbanism (Jacobs, 1961; Francaviglia, 1996; Marcuse, 2000), the street has become something of a cipher, profoundly contradictory, endlessly mutating, an implicit container, a site where other actions, processes and emotions occur.

1.1.1: Reassessing Space

> Space itself remains a curiously under-explored topic of geographic curiosity... space prevails as a largely taken-for-granted concept (Strohmayer, 1998: p. 106).

Historically speaking, Agnew has argued that concepts of community, society, class and capital have dominated theory in the social sciences to the extent that "thinking and talking in terms of place has been largely impossible" (Agnew, 1989: p. 9). This has been exacerbated by the difficulties inherent in the terms themselves, given the difficulties in defining and abstracting them (Agnew, 1989; Madani-Pour, 1996), and their role in wider arguments about culture (Ley, 1989: p. 45).

The attempt to 'bring space back in' to the wider field of social theory, to re-establish it as a counterpoint to emphases on time, has been a priority of geographic thought since the late 80s. As Entrikin argued at the emergence of this spatial turn, "human experience is always rooted in place. For some geographers this represents a relatively recent interest." (Entrikin, 1989: p. 41; Gregory, 1989). Soja was one of a series of geographers who repeat Foucault's famous dictum "Space was treated as the dead, the fixed, the un-dialectical, the immobile. Time, on the contrary, was richness, fecundity, life, dialectic" (1989: p. 119).

> society is necessarily constructed spatially, and that fact — the spatial organisation of society — makes a difference to how it works (Massey, 1994: p. 254).
>
> The constitution of society is spatial and temporal, social existence is made concrete in geography and history (Soja, 1989: p. 127).

Central to debates on space and place are questions of *scale*. Recognition of 'the scale problem in human geography' (Watson, 1978) was twinned to the question of locale and the local, with much of the grand spatial thinking in

geography ignoring "the particularities of content and context" in the quest for wider meta-narratives and understandings (Ley, 1989: p. 55; see also Davis, 1985; and Gottdiener, 1995) where the local "has been for too long neglected by an over-centralised, dominating and exclusive modernist culture" (Cooke, 1988: p. 114-5; cf. Robins, 1993). Massey (1994: p. 130-1) in particular has argued for the study of local places, arguing that the particular history of particular places is important, as their character is shaped and in turn shapes the wider forces acting upon them.

Despite the recognition of the essential role that the spatial plays, as a concept space is increasingly recognised as problematic (Rose, 1993: p. 70). While there is a widespread inference that the concept is "free from any problems or contradictions, as if we all agreed what space means" (Madani-Pour, 1996: p. 331-2; see also Soja, 1989), the contrast between 'absolute' (as "clearly distinct, real and objective space") and 'relative' ("perceptual and socially produced") definitions of space reveals a more fragmented spatial. Similarly, Merrifield (1997: p. 418) argues that there are essentially two series of general perspectives on urban space: those which analyse it in terms of processes, and those that focus on the experience of place. Synthesising the two metaphors is difficult, for each perspective typically marginalises the other.

Traditional geographic studies of the changing urban landscape (e. g. Conzen and Whitehand, 1981; Whitehand, 1992) have focused on changes to the physical fabric of the city itself, analysing change through the study of changing ownership patterns, redevelopment and through the roles of architects and builders in shaping the landscape. With the emergence of postmodern discourses, this approach has continued, albeit in a more nuanced yet highly ideological form that attempts to relate broader patterns of restructuring to changes in the landscape (Soja, 1989; Jameson, 1991). This is often expressed through analyses of particular buildings as broader signifiers of change and restructuring, (e.g. Cooke (1990) on the AT&T Building in Manhattan, Jameson (1984), Davis (1985) and Whyte (1988) on the Bonaventure Hotel in Los Angeles) in preference to more idiographic approaches (Goss, 1988).

The focus of this 'spatial turn' is however highly contested, with many

arguing that the literature has privileged particular types of spaces. Urban histories have often been articulated through what Hayden describes as a "landmark policy" (or 'city biography') which emphasises the creation of urban structure while marginalising the role of "ordinary buildings as part of public history" (Hayden, 1995: p. 3). Other forms of spatial analyses suffer from similar flaws: much of the recent consumption literature has focused on the role of the mall (Gregson and Crewe, 1994; Crewe and Lowe, 1995), in preference to the more 'mundane' landscapes of the high street (Morris, 1988: p. 202; Zukin, 1995: p. 191), while analyses of leisure have often focused on the creation of large-scale and corporate spectacles (Hannigan, 1998; Goss, 1999) in preference to the more local and disorganised street.

1.1.2: Reassessing Change

From Conzen in the 1930s (1981) to Harvey (1989a), Soja (1996) and Dear (2000) today, urban change has been one of the mainstays of geographical research: particularly dominating postmodern writings. But what is change? This key question underlies all analyses, for it contextualises much and reveals perceptions of place that otherwise remain highly implicit. The dominant analyses of change and restructuring in the literature revolve around varied aspects of the modern/postmodern transition (Harvey, 1989a; Zukin, 1992), although these analyses are not without criticism (Davis, 1985; Gottdiener, 1995; Thrift, 1997). These analyses revolve around meta-narratives of change that attempt to visualise coherent patterns of social change across nations and economic systems.

Research focusing on local change, in particular how local landscapes are evolving, is more rare. It is often subordinate to attempts to either identify local aspects of broader change (De Oliver, 1996; although attempts to specifically link the local with broader changes have come under significant criticism, see Massey, 1994); to identify the direction of local change (Crewe, 1994); or to understand the **experience** of the street, including people's perceptions and iconographies of the street (Lynch, 1960; de Certeau, 1984; Sennett, 1990).

Sack has argued that "places historically have been thought of as more or less

fixed" (1992: p. 104), in what Madani-Pour (1996: p. 348) characterises as a vision of place that is "timeless and bounded, with a singular, fixed, and unproblematic, authentic identity" (see also Strohmayer, 1998). In particular, there is a considerable tendency to infer stable readings of places once built: they then assume a fixed identity (the high street, the mall, Disneyland) that is both significantly detached from and consciously resisting the reality of continued change and evolution (Morris, 1988). Practice has shown that studying the detail of how landscapes are changing is difficult and invariably quantitative: many data sources only provide information on structural changes (Foley and Hutchinson, 1994) while other more focused data sources are rarely used (Rideout, 1993; Rowley, 1984). The result is an inference in much of the literature that 'urban change' is synonymous with architectural change, which is synonymous with landscape change (Whitehand, 1992). Thus the street is again marginalised.

> The production of capitalist spatiality, however, is no once-and-for-all event (Soja, 1989: p. 129).

But we know that places change, evolve, mutate. How much do they have to change before we take notice? Or do we prioritise particular types of change? Gottdiener (1995: p. 132) argues that many postmodern authors deal with change in the most superficial way, providing a curious combination of nomothetic and ideographic analyses that turn "a tendency into a universal semanticisation of the built environment". Such perspectives privilege change through attempts to locate changing landscapes within the wider theoretical landscape, while articulating particular visions of change, most noticeably in the 'transition' from modern to postmodern landscapes (Davis, 1985).

It is difficult to analyse changes in landscape without analysing landscape itself. While there is a noticeable interest in the semiotics of landscape, of particular buildings, and of the activities that happen within landscapes (particularly consumption and the joys of spectacle Crouch, 1998) these analyses tend to situate landscape as a wider container within which other things happen — the container itself is made incidental*.

*This is most obvious with analyses of the mall (Goss, 1993; Goss, 1996; Gregson, 1995; though see Jones, 1991).

The use of such abstracted concepts of change invariably skews our understanding of the true nature and impact of change (Thrift, 1997). In particular, such monolithic visions of substantive change ignore the constant and repeated changes of building occupants and uses within the landscape: while the landscape is constantly changing, it is not necessarily being constantly **rebuilt**.

1.1.3: Modernity, Change and Stability

This thesis contextualises questions of change by not focusing on change per se, but on analysing the street as an explicitly modernist phenomenon: a site shaped by the contradictions of modernity. This perspective takes Berman's (1982) definition of the experience of modernity (the experience of the constant tension between stability and constant change) and specifically extends this tension to analyses of **place**. Place then is seen neither as static and unchanging, nor as constantly changing, but as an unstable mixture of the two.

> this articulation of places as an unstable and highly problematic site of contradictions has its roots in the most radical message of modernity (Oakes, 1997: p. 525)

This vision of the modern street allows us to contextualise change by visualising the tension between the new and the old, allowing for a greater appreciation both of how landscape changes and of how it remains stable. This allows the visualisation of the street in transition, and allows us to examine how place is constructed and reconstructed, and provides an opportunity for an appreciation of the transitory and ephemeral nature of the reality of urban change.

Through this device, the analysis explicitly links visions of space and time, and by combining the two metaphors enables the construction of a better understanding of landscapes of modernity that reflect "The presence of the past in a present that supersedes it but still lays claim to it" (Augé, 1995: p. 75-7; see also Madani-Pour, 1996). This enables us to situate the streets' "permanent impermanence" (Gregory, 1994: p. 215; cf. Langman, 1992: p. 46) within what is essentially a historical approach to the present (Driver, 1988: p. 497).

> we become more conscious of modernity when the places we occupy in our daily lives are the very loci of the contradictions of modernity (Sack, 1992: p. 5).

This thesis uses this conceptual framework to examine the changing urban

street, particularly the street of consumption. While it has been widely recognised that consumption is to a large degree articulated through place and that it is one of the most significant place-building processes (Sack, 1988; Crewe and Lowe, 1995), the lack of work on the nature and change of the local landscape of the street represents one of the great lacunae in the literature (Crewe, 1994; Hayden, 1995).

This research develops a detailed history of two neighbourhoods in Edinburgh, by combining the data from 17 annual surveys taken between January 1978 and November 1994 of some 1400 sites, representing approximately 345,000 m2 of floor space into a large database which is then used to develop clear understanding of the change, relative stability, and slow overall evolution of the local street*. While the study area does include two relatively small shopping malls (representing ~7% of all sites), it otherwise avoids the 'formalised' environments of the mall and the festival setting and avoids "the tyranny of the single site" (Jackson and Thrift, 1995: p. 211; see also Gregson and Crewe, 1994), by analysing over 16km of street frontage in two neighbourhoods that serve central Edinburgh.

In looking at the histories of local streets, this research consciously examines what Morris describes as "the everyday... the supposedly un- or non-experimental" (Morris, 1988: p. 202; see also Hayden, 1995; Zukin, 1995: p. 190-1). It reflects the calls for a "historical geography of consumption" (Jackson and Thrift, 1995: p. 229) and for "geographies of consumption and identity 'on the ground'" (Crewe and Lowe, 1995: p. 1877). It takes as fundamental Massey's argument that we need to study the **particular history** of particular places as their character is not only shaped by wider forces but stamps "its own imprint *on* those wider processes" (Massey, 1994: p. 131). It begins the process of addressing the fundamental tension between our (wider) knowledge of how society is changing and our relative lack of knowledge of how the street is changing. The aim of this thesis is to provide a history of these spaces, and to chart their evolution.

* Both values are from the November 1994 survey.

1.2: Aims and objectives

This thesis has one methodological and three theoretical objectives. It will examine the suitability of Goad maps as data sources for urban research, and use the material generated from a collation of 34 of these maps to examine the particular local street history of two study areas. This site data will be analysed to develop a greater understanding of how the local street is changing and to what degree it remains a relatively stable entity. This material will be used to examine the local evidence of landscape changes due to increased levels of urban homogenisation and globalisation, and to study the changing role of leisure within the streetscape.

1.2.1: Historicising the Street

Numerous data sources exist for the study of the city, fewer provide site level data, even fewer can be cross-referenced into a historical record, and fewer still are accessible in any volume. Many sources rely upon the goodwill of various local and national governmental agencies to facilitate access to meaningful amounts of data (Rideout, 1993; Lees, 1994). By contrast, the Goad maps are relatively accessible, and offer pseudo-annual site-level coverage of a large number of urban areas . While their suitability as a resource for urban studies has been previously identified (Rowley, 1984; Rowley, 1985), there is little evidence of their use in the geographic literature. This research will enable an analysis of the usability and potential of this very accessible source of current and historical urban data.

1.2.2: Streets of change, streets of stability

Discourses of change, transition and restructuring dominate considerable segments of the geographic literature. While many of the broader trends within change are widely recognised (Glennie and Thrift, 1993), the actual detail of change and the applicability of wider discourses of change to particular local experiences is widely overlooked, despite its importance (Sayer, 1989; Massey, 1994; Hayden, 1995; Stallabrass, 1996). While Berman in particular (1982; see also Oakes, 1997) has argued that the modern experience is characterised by the tension between change and stability, analyses invariably prioritise the impact of

change over equally important questions of stability (Gottdiener, 1995).

This research examines multiple definitions of 'change', arguing that while 'change' appears to be a relatively straightforward conceptual device, the reality of the street indicates that 'change' is often highly dependent upon the definitions, methods and scales that are used in the analysis. A number of factors influencing the perception of change are analysed, including the overall rates of landscape change, the role of vacancies, and the role of high-change sites. This focus on change is further contextualised by an analysis of the stability of the street, where the reality of stability is recognised to be considerably more complex than inferences of 'stability as the antithesis of change'. Profiles of the street reveal a constantly mutating phenomenon underpinned by highly stable foundations. Analysis indicates that a thorough understanding of stability adds considerable complexity and detail to discourses of change.

1.2.3: Homogenous and Global streets

Homogenisation and globalisation discourses are widely recognised and are thoroughly embedded within the geographic and wider literatures (Baudrillard, 1988; Harvey, 1989a; Jameson, 1991), although their local veracity has come under increasing question (Massey, 1994; Crewe and Lowe, 1995; Jackson and Thrift, 1995). Explicit definitions/characterisations of these processes that can be used as a basis for local analyses are rather more rare. This research analyses several different definitions of globalisation and homogenisation whose analysis is made possible by the construction of a site-level database of occupants and uses, and questions the evidence supporting the correlation between wider discourses of economic restructuring and the reality of the local experience. In particular, indicators of levels of homogeneity are presented which allow the comparison of levels of homogeneity within the bounds of the two study areas, and between the dataset and national and international economic spheres. The assumption of rising levels of homogeneity is analysed in the light of the changing makeup of the urban streetscape, as is the presence/emergence of landscapes of 'global capitalism' as represented by the presence in the landscape of national and international chains and brands.

1.2.4: Exploring streets of leisure

The transition towards a more leisure-based economy is widely recognised (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990; Hannigan, 1998; Hughes, 1999). This research examines exactly how leisure provision in the street is changing, and whether distinct patterns of leisure change can be identified within the wider streetscapes. It examines leisure change in terms of the changing concentrations of leisure provision, and examines in detail the profiles of leisure uses which distinguish particular geographical areas. It questions the accepted vision of how leisure is changing, and examines in detail the shifts in particular leisure uses and whether particular forms of leisure provision are becoming common elements of the wider streetscape.

1.3: Chapter structure

1.3.1: Chapter 2: Modernism, Postmodernism and the Urban Street

Debates over modernism and the nature of a putative transition to postmodernism have been central to the recent work of cultural and urban geographers. This chapter charts the respective emergence of modernism, urban modernism, postmodernism and postmodern urbanism, focusing in particular on visions of the street, and the themes of control, spectacle, consumption and authenticity that are implicit within these perspectives. Discourses of modernism and postmodernism are shown to be highly fractured and problematic, full of internal tensions and contradictions. This equally applies to the numerous and contradictory readings of the urban and the street.

1.3.2: Chapter 3: Consumption and the Street

The geographical literature on consumption has shifted over the last decade from an interest in analyses of new forms of retail development to wider conceptions of the process of consumption, focusing both on the social roles within consumption and on the relationship between consumption practices and place building. While the importance of place is repeatedly emphasised in the literature, there is a simultaneous emphasis upon the role of spectacle and upon private consumption environments (particularly the mall). The role of landscape within consumption processes is analysed, and calls for the study of 'alternative'

landscapes of consumption are linked to the exploration of the role of the street as a consumption environment.

1.3.3: Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter examines the variety of available urban data sources that could be used to construct site-level histories of the street, before detailing the choice of the Goad material as the study's data source. The issues involved in transcribing the data from the 34 source maps are explained, as are the particular solutions that were developed during the process to facilitate the transcription and verification of the site data. This is followed by an explanation of the occupant and use classification strategies that were developed during the generation of the database in preparation for the subsequent analyses.

1.3.4: Chapter 5: Background to the study areas

Having selected two study areas, this chapter provides a wider background to the two regions, including a brief synopsis of the history of the areas, before providing a more detailed history of the period under examination. Primary focus is given to the role of the local Council and institutions that promote regeneration and shape economic and landscape development within the study areas.

1.3.5: Chapter 6: Streets of Change, Streets of Stability, Streets of Homogeneity.

Chapter 6 begins by questioning the concept of change, and proposing a number of different definitions of change whose analysis is supported by the dataset. These include examining overall and more local rates of change, the types of changes in occupant and site use, broad/sectoral shifts in site uses, and the role of vacancies and constantly changing sites as indicators of change.

Aspects of the 'historical' street are evaluated to deepen the understanding of the nature of change and its relationship to the persistent street, with particular attention focusing on several differing definitions of stability, particularly the numbers of occupants and uses each site has had. A cumulative profile of the street is constructed, enabling a more contextual analysis of change that highlights the underlying stability of the street. Special attention is paid to the

final year in the study period, including analyses of those sites that are unchanged throughout the length of the study period.

The question of homogeneity is broached by examining the variations in types of site uses and in numbers of distinct site uses both within the two study regions and within smaller geographic areas within these areas. The use of chain sites and multiples as indicators of homogeneity is examined in the following chapter.

1.3.6: Chapter 7: Streets of Leisure, Streets of Services, Streets of Capital

Chapter 7 builds on the analyses of the preceding chapter by focusing on three broad areas of change: changing leisure uses, changing service uses and the changing roles of chains and multiples in the urban landscape. The assumption of a transition towards a more leisure-based economy is examined, with a focus on shifts in leisure uses and changing levels of concentration of leisure services. Similar assumptions about the increasing importance of services are analysed, with a particular emphasis upon shifts in the provision of white-collar services, although the usefulness of the data source for this type of street analysis is questioned.

The changing distribution and role of chain sites within the study areas are examined as an indicator of changing levels of homogeneity. Analyses are developed focusing on the level of concentration of these sites within the two study regions, and using this data to infer levels of similarity between the study areas and the wider economic landscape. The role of occupants with multiple sites within the regions is examined as an indicator of relative levels of homogeneity within the two study areas. Excluding chains from this analysis allows the development of a unique perspective on changes within the local economy.

1.3.7: Chapter 8: Visions of the Street

The concluding chapter brings together the results from the preceding two chapters, analysing them within the context of the wider geographical literature, and argues that the reality of the changing street during the study period is

markedly different from the vision of change implicit in much of the literature. While attempts to explore the questions of globalisation and homogeneity are frustrated by the fundamental looseness and vagueness of the terms themselves, the data provides an insight into the changing levels of homogeneity within the study areas and of the growth of chains in the region, and indicates the considerable geographic diversity evident in these processes. Clear evidence of particular shifts in leisure provision emerge, and it becomes possible to identify several different changes in leisure provision happening simultaneously within the study regions. The chapter is concluded by discussion of areas of potential research that follow the methods and issues raised by this research.

1.3.8: Appendices

The appendices comprise detailed explanations of the data collection process, including the main technical issues that arose, the solutions that were developed in response to these issues, and details of the software that was written to facilitate the multi-stage data-transcription and verification process. Detailed geographical descriptions of the areas into which each region was subdivided are included, as are specific details of several of the classification methodologies that were used.

Chapter 2: Modernism, Postmodernism and the Urban Street

Developing an understanding of the changing street necessitates exploring wider conceptions of the street and its place in the city. The dominant analyses of change over the last century and a half have revolved around the various discourses commonly grouped together under the twin umbrellas of 'modern', 'modernism' and 'modernity', and, more recently 'postmodern', 'postmodernism' and 'postmodernity'. In the most general sense, the urban ramifications/implications of conceptions of modernism are well known, as are their weaknesses. The transition from the 'modern' to the 'post-modern', however, presents far greater conceptual difficulties, given the wide ranging and often contradictory readings of postmodernism (which is also true of modernism), with the relationship between these analyses and urban change being one of fractious debate. While geographers continue to participate in the ongoing postmodern debates (e.g. Gottdiener, 1995; Clarke, 1997), analyses of postmodern **geographies** have somewhat stagnated after the interventions of Harvey (1989a) and Soja (1989), following an initial flowering in the 80s (Dear, 1995).

Analyses of the urban postmodern (in contrast to analyses of the architectural postmodern) have though continued (e.g. Hannigan, 1998), with debate often grounded in particular issues, such as urban restructuring (Zukin, 1991; Zukin, 1995) the tensions between public and private space (De Oliver, 1996; Lees, 1997), or the role of leisure and consumption in the city (Robins, 1993; Featherstone, 1994; Rojek, 1995; Urry, 1995; Clarke, 1997).

This chapter explores the differences between modernist and postmodernist visions of the city and the street. Modernist visions of society (and hence the city) have been prominent for the last 150 years and form the basis of much of the post-war analyses of the urban experience. Postmodernism is a much more recent development:

> Modernism was brewing for 50 years before it began to rework urban landscapes on a large scale; post-modernism seems to have had a gestation of less than a decade before its effects on cities became apparent (Relph, 1987: p. 241).

Many of the changes in urban perspectives since the 70s have been related in

some way to the multiplicities of 'new' urban forms (festival marketing, waterfront revitalisation, heritage exploitation, gentrification etc.) that have emerged and been collectively ascribed to some form of postmodern process (Relph, 1987; Harvey, 1989a; Zukin, 1992). What exactly postmodernism is, what (if anything) it represents, its roots and its urban, social and political potential are all matters for contentious and continuing debate. The relationship between modernism and postmodernism has been caricatured as either being highly incestuous or one of diametrical opposition, and complicated and subtle. Debates surrounding modernism, and to an even greater degree post-modernism are amongst the most opaque yet contentious in academia, reflecting Ley's (1989: p. 45) aphorism that "the struggle to define the language of space and place has often formed part of a larger struggle for the definition of culture itself".

It is difficult to separate a discussion of modernism from the postmodern critique, and vice versa. Developing a chronological narrative is thus problematic: equally so is a theoretical narrative, given the symbiotic and often highly referential relationship between these social and urban perspectives. The remainder of the chapter reflects this: although there is an attempt to explore modernism and modernist urbanism before exploring postmodernism and postmodern urbanism, the exploration of particular themes often results in the movement back and forth between the ideas of each conceptual framework.

2.1: Modern, Modernity, Modernism

> We all think we know what it is to be modern (Cooke, 1990: p. 1).

The terrain of modernity is beset by etymology: a swirl of ephemeral terms: modern, modernity, modernism. Arguments about the nature of modernity often begin with the language itself, which complicates understanding as different authors focus on different issues from different perspectives while relying upon (apparently) identical words whose highly contextual meanings (and politics) can wildly differ (Ley, 1989).

2.1.1: Visions of the Modern

To be modern is to live a life of paradox and contradiction (Berman, 1988: p. 35).

The term 'modern' began to be used as a synonym for 'now' in the late sixteenth century, as a means of separating 'current' experience from that of medieval times, as part of a wider "rehabilitated classicism" whose symbolism served as an indicator of the re-visioning of Renaissance and Enlightenment society (Williams, 1989a: p. 31) . As such, the use of 'modern' was markedly different from current conceptions of the modern, reminding us that concepts of modernity have always been paradoxical, recursive, and highly contextual (Cooke, 1990: p. 4). By the Eighteenth century, Enlightenment thought had produced what we today recognise as the philosophical roots of modernism, with its emphasis on the primacy of reason, rational thought and the scientific method.

The application of reason could "make the future a malleable one" and thus had the political potential to "interrupt the flow of history, overturn traditional hegemonies" (Cooke, 1990: p. 5). Through this application began the process of reshaping a Europe that had become profoundly teleological during the Dark Ages, through the reconstitution of the religious and feudal/aristocratic social structures which had shaped and constrained social, political and scientific development (Ley, 1989; Heilbron, 1999).

Berman has divided the history of the modern experience into three phases over almost five hundred years, beginning in the sixteenth century with the emergence of early forms of capitalism and technologies that had the potential to radically reshape life, in combination with the exposure to new and unheard of exotic goods (spices, coffee, tobacco) and the social and financial upheavals instigated by the rise of colonialism and the emergence of the world market (Anderson, 1984: p. 98; Morley and Robins, 1995). The second phase begins with the fundamental watershed of the French Revolution, when "a great modern public abruptly and dramatically comes to life" and the impermanence of established political and social mores is exposed in a political and social upheaval that cascaded across Europe (Davies, 1997). This was followed by the final stage of the modern experience, where the triumphs of technology, of

modernist art and architecture propagated a "world culture of modernism" (Berman, 1988: p. 37), through which experiences of modernity were translated into what are now recognised as the "classical visions of modern*ism*" (Anderson, 1984: p. 98).

Modernism can be seen as the first "great ideological response" to the crises that emerged with the fracturing of a teleological Europe into warring religious and political factions (Jenks, 1995: p. 29), exacerbated by shifts in economic and military power precipitated on one hand by civil unrest and revolution and on the other by the fruits of colonial expansion. Berman (1982; 1988)characterises 19th century modernism as that of the emerging machine age, yet resisting the implications of the machine age, where memories of the pre-machine age clash with the experience of the machine age, and the experience of modernity is shaped by the tensions and resistance between the two (Jenks, 1987).

> Modernity....not only entails a ruthless break with any or all preceding historical conditions, but is characterised by an never-ending process of internal ruptures and fragmentation within itself (Harvey, 1989a).

Marx's vision of the constant change and disruption in production and social relations under this emerging modernism in which "all that is solid melts into air" has been praised by Berman as the definitive vision of the modern experience, where the possibilities are "at once glorious and ominous" and "everything is pregnant with its contrary" (Berman, 1988: p. 40-2). Berman sees this experience of modernity as combining the tensions between a desire to be rooted in a stable and knowable personal and social past, while our relationships with the past are simultaneously threatened by an "insatiable desire for growth — not merely for economic growth but for growth in experience, in pleasure, in knowledge, in sensibility", a growth that threatens to destroy "the physical and social landscapes of our past, and our emotional likes with those lost worlds" (Berman, 1988: p. 47) . Thus growth becomes a dialectical process, where 'progress' demands the price of the relinquishment of the past, a forced 'emancipation' that cannot be separated from the threat of social alienation from the world of (present) experience, leaving us unable to use traditional social means to cope with "an unknown, unbound and therefore potentially terrifying future" (Cooke, 1990: p. 5).

2.1.2: Rationality and Order

Reason, 'rational' thought, and their accompanying philosophical visions are arguably the most significant intellectual gifts of the Enlightenment to succeeding ages. Reason (and its accompanying scientific method) emerged as a reaction to the intellectual and political crises of a profoundly teleological Europe emerging from feudalism and the Dark Ages, ravaged by religious schism and the new political and economic tensions emerging from widespread mercantile and colonial conflict (Ley, 1989; Davies, 1997)*.

It was believed that the 'natural light of reason' would free Man from the shackles of religious dogma and the irrational constraints of faith: it would allow the development of scientific method which would be used as a tool to decipher the underlying logic of the world's processes. The questioning of the unquestionable, from religion to politics, saw the development of economics and history, the evolution of critiques of hereditary rule, and the articulation of the principles of consent which underlie democracy and which laid the philosophical foundations for the American War of Independence and Europe's first cataclysmic Revolution in 1789 (Davies, 1997).

During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries the Enlightenment project evolved into the Modern project, which emphasised rational control: control of the self, control of nature, and control of the other (through prisons, institutions etc. King, 1996). The 'civilising process' regulated aggression and socialised those newcomers unused to the experience of the urban (Williams, 1989a; Rojek, 1995): science was mobilised (through technology) to seize control over the physical world (Sennett, 1990; Ellin, 1996) and began the transition from religious or feudal politics towards more bureaucratic forms of social control (Berman, 1988).

* The widespread resistance to the work of the Northern Lighthouse Board in the early nineteenth century encapsulates the tension between progress and tradition: while lighthouses reflected man's increasing domination of nature, they also expressed a willingness to meddle in God's 'natural order' that was viewed with great suspicion (Bathurst, 1999).

> [The modern movement] substantially removed the intangible, the metaphysical, even (or so it seemed) culture itself in favour of an objective and functional logic, the spirit of progress (Ley, 1989: p. 47).

This quest for rationality, like modernism itself, was always multifaceted: the development of a rational society implied an emphasis upon order, through the application of 'sense and science' (Bathurst, 1999), where work was valued "as the central life interest" as part of the broader putative Protestant/Puritan work ethic (Rojek, 1995: p. 45). Simultaneously, rationality caused the fragmentation and breakdown of older social structures (Berman, 1982; Jenks, 1995) leading to the emancipation of the individual, classically articulated through the emergence of the flâneur, of the experience of bricolage, and the experiences of hedonism and ostentation (especially through new technologies: photography, cinema, mass travel) that became possible within the anonymous urban crowd (Shields, 1991; King, 1996; Hannigan, 1998).

This individualism threatened established conceptions of social order: hence the articulation of rational visions of control (Hall, 1988a; Madani-Pour, 1995), be it through attempts to maintain gender, racial and class structures or to control the crowd, the stranger and the carnival (Wolff, 1985; Morris, 1988; Featherstone, 1992; Wilson, 1998). These strategies of control will recur throughout the analysis of modernism and modern urbanism.

> the range of basic cultural positions within Modernism stretches from an eager embrace of modernity... or in the equally significant attachments to ideas of social and political revolution, to conscious options for past or exotic cultures as sources or at least as fragments *against* the modern world (Williams, 1989a: p. 43).

2.1.3: The experience of Modernity

> To be modern is to find ourselves in an environment that promises us adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves and the world— and, at the same time, that threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are (Berman, 1982: p. 15)

Modern*ity* lies between modern*isation* and modern*ism*, "neither economic process nor cultural vision but the *historical experience* mediating the one to the other" (Anderson, 1984: p. 97). Modernism was represented by "a tremendous emancipation of the possibility and sensibility of the individual self, now increasingly released from the fixed social status and rigid role-hierarchy of the pre-capitalist past, with its narrow morality and cramped imaginative range" (Anderson, 1984: p. 98; but see Talese, 1981). This is the modernism of the new

great public, of the mass experience: where pre-modern man joins the crowded street of anonymous strangers, a street full of potential and radical new experiences (Williams, 1989a: p. 40; Sennett, 1990).

Anderson sites the emergence of new modernisms within a wider experience of change, freedom and uncertainty (which largely mirrors Berman's visions of modernity), with the development of new technologies (the radio, the telephone, the phonograph, the spread of photography and new forms of printing etc.) pollinating the experience of the new machine age. The establishment of formalised academic visions of art helped to shape wider discourses of the experience of change by generating formal positions against which contrary artistic views could shape critical discourses, while the sense of political possibilities was markedly expanded through the extension of suffrage and the rise of socialist and labour movements (Anderson, 1984; Williams, 1989a).

The ideas of modernism have over time been implicitly condensed and redefined by their incorporation within the shorthand of the modernist 'project'. This project became a shorthand for a particular set of perceptions of modernity: the ideal of progress, the triumph of technology, the potential of science to unlock the world's potential: all collected in a vision of the utopian possibilities of their combination under the aegis of a rational bureaucracy. The terms have slipped: the modernist project succeeded the modern experience, bringing with it a shift in modern thought about the experience of modernity itself, which has ignored the essentially ambiguous character of the modern experience in favour of particular narrative of experience, emancipation and technological progress (Anderson, 1984; Cooke, 1990). To Williams, the recasting of the modern project, and in particular the 'canonisation' of modernism by academic acceptance, represents a highly selective and deeply ideological conception of the modern which has appropriated the vision and process of modernity while subsuming the essential political and aesthetic fractures that comprise modernity itself (Williams, 1989a: p. 33-4).The result is a unitary vision of modernity that has either been accepted and embraced or condemned and rejected as a "closed monolith" (Berman, 1982: p. 24).

It is this essential ambiguity of the processes and experiences, the acceptance

of the philosophical and social tensions within the experience of modernism that fundamentally shape its articulation, that has been lost within analyses of the modern project. Stripped of its essential vitality, modernism loses its power as an organising medium/metaphor: from this emerges "a modern age that has lost touch with the roots of its own modernity" (Berman, 1988: p. 37).

2.2: The Modern and the Urban

> The culture of the twentieth century is littered with utopian schemes. That none of them succeeded, we take for granted; in fact, we have got so used to accepting the failure of Utopia that we find it hard to understand our cultural grandparents, many of whom believed, with the utmost passion, that its historical destiny was to succeed. (Hughes, 1991: p. 164)

The movement from modern to modern urban appears to be straightforward, embracing technology, the development of new architectural forms suitable for the new utopian machine age, with the transformation of Manhattan into the icon of the new urban age, and the emergence of a planning system to translate utopian visions into urban reality. This vision, deeply embedded within the modern project (rather than in modernism per se), is detached from the contradictory experience of modernity espoused by Berman and Anderson. It reflects emphases upon control rather than emancipation, and is today viewed as the consequence of a failed attempt to construct a modern utopia whose goals and fundamental potential proved to be outwith the critical possibilities of non-urban modernisms. This difference is best caricatured by the contrast between the aims of the modernist project and the experience of modernism: the soulless city of International Style architecture compared with the city of the flâneur; of wider visions of efficiency and progress contrasted to the valorisation of the local experience, and of Corbusier's automobile city resisted by Jacob's city of neighbourhood experiences (Jacobs, 1961; Berman, 1982; Merrifield, 1997; see also Heynen, 1999).

2.2.1: From Architecture to Urbanism

> from 1880 to 1930, when the language of architecture changed more radically than it had done in the preceding four centuries, the ideal of social transformation through architecture and design was one of the driving forces of modernist culture. Rational design would make rational societies (Hughes, 1991: p. 165)

Ley (1989) situates the widespread emergence of urban/architectural modernism within the development of a then-radical architectural critique which

celebrated the simplicity and utilitarian in preference to 'high' and 'vernacular' styles that no longer (symbolically) represented the growing dominance of a middle-class machine-age culture. Loos initiated the reaction against 'decorated' architecture, arguing in a 1908 article entitled *Ornament and Crime* that "The evolution of culture is synonymous with the removal of ornament from utilitarian objects" (Hughes, 1991: p. 167), while Wagner simultaneously aimed to reduce the prevailing classicism to "a logical statement of material, structure and function" (Nuttgens, 1997: p. 259)*.

Thus, design forms and motifs that were felt to represent existing class values and attitudes were rejected as 'ornamental' (in particular the anti-industrial floridity of the arts and crafts and Art Deco movements), a shift made possible by the technological evolution of architecture and construction which had reached a point where many of these 'decorative' forms were now structurally superfluous due to the expanding use of reinforced concrete and steel in construction (Jenks, 1987; Kunstler, 1993; Nuttgens, 1997). In addition, this radically new modern architecture represented to many the collective "great leap forward" that was central to the universal appeal of the utopian modernist project (Dear, 1995)†.

Complementing these themes was the ideology of the factory. With the rise of Taylorism, with its radically new ways of structuring production, the factory became a symbol for visions of organisation, logic and order that fuelled the artistic and cultural inspiration that was most clearly seen in the architecture of the Bauhaus movement, whose legacy shaped the education of a generation of architects. From this vision of efficiency, structure, and the power of organisation to redefine both business and society, grew the desire to use these tools to marshal the city and convert it into a smoothly running mechanism for the exploitation of industrial and social capital. This vision of a new, recreated

* From similar logic came two of the central tenets of modernist architecture: 'less is more' (Mies van der Rohe) and 'form follows function' (Louis Sullivan), although Sullivan's catch phrase predates the Bauhaus and International Styles by 50 years.

† "Mies seemed to be the epitome of reason — straight lines, rational thought, and extreme refinement of proportion and detailing. If an architect copied him, he would not be copying a style but emulating revealed Truth and this was the secret of Mies van der Rohe's extraordinary influence on two subsequent generations of designers." (Hughes, 1991: p. 180)

city has its roots in Chicago, specifically with the need/ability to rebuild the downtown core following the fire of 1871, the emergence of Louis Sullivan as an architect of note, and the visionary impact of the 'White City' of the Chicago Worlds Fair of 1893 (Ley and Olds, 1992; Nuttgens, 1997).

Modernist re-definitions of the city were articulated by planners and architectural visionaries through the radically new suburban visions of the Garden City and the City Beautiful movements. As a particularly **urban** conceptualisation, Modernism began to develop in the 20s with the work of the Bauhaus, who aimed to "impose rational order for socially useful goals", an aim reflected in Le Corbusier's emphasis that "freedom and liberty in the contemporary metropolis depended crucially on the imposition of rational order" (Ley, 1989: p. 47; Hall, 1988a). Such perspectives were born out of the wider belief that "good urban environments made good societies" (Relph, 1987: p. 264). This was a vision of the urban that had moved beyond the building, and saw in the planned city a means for architecture to move beyond (mere) design and to begin to perform an emancipatory role. No longer would architecture be for the rich, for its talents would be harnessed for the good of all — architects and planners would become the 'designers of a new society' that addressed the pressing social needs of the day (Hall, 1988a; Hughes, 1991; Nuttgens, 1997).

The utopian modern landscape was a futuristic landscape of logic and order that would tame and socialise the city (Davis, 1985; Whyte, 1988; Robins, 1993). It would enable the city to become an efficient (mechanical) structuring force, where everything was in its place, where people were internalised far from the vagaries and inconsistencies of the pre-modern street in new environments that would be both controlled and controllable. This was a vision of progress articulated through centralised social engineering, one that would transform society through architecture (Cooke, 1990). Come the end of the Second World War, the experience of mass production and planning was harnessed in a programme of reconstruction and renewal that became synonymous with the construction of the Welfare State (Harvey, 1989a). The utopian future had arrived.

2.2.2: The City as Machine

> Whereas Modernism in architecture has furthered the ideology of industrialisation and progress, Modernism in most other fields has either fought these trends or lamented them. (Jenks, 1995: p. 28).

The architecture of Le Corbusier has been described as "the most complete of all visions of an alternative urban space" (King, 1996: p. 51). Le Corbusier's seminal books *La Ville Contemporaine* (1922) and *La Ville Radieuse*, the Radiant City (1933) represented his vision of an architecture appropriate for a new technological age (Ravetz, 1986: p. 49), one that resolved the triangular Parisian crises of poverty, the conflicts between the automobile and the city, and the continuing threat of social unrest (Hall, 1988a). Corbusier called for the reconstruction of vast swathes of Paris, proposing an emancipatory urban design that would bulldoze slums, separate the automobile from the conventional street (which would be rendered obsolete), and provide appropriate venues for all interactions. To solve the problem of overcrowding he argued for an even higher population density, through the construction of huge self-contained tower blocks that would be widely separated by public spaces and serviced by inter-connecting freeways. The city would not be renewed: the city would be destroyed and rebuilt (Harvey, 1989a).

Building this new radiant city would require a latter day Haussmann with 'Pharaonic' powers (Ravetz, 1986: p. 49) . With the arguable exception of the much vilified Robert Moses in New York (Berman, 1982; Kunstler, 1993), and perhaps the 'imagineers' of Walt Disney (Warren, 1994), such a 'charismatic Master' (Jameson, 1984: p. 53) never emerged. The city was not devoid of authoritarian and unaccountable redevelopers, however. Robert Moses is perhaps the best known of the planners who attempted to fashion a city in his own image, but he is not alone, joined by faceless bureaucracies and quangos who still wield immense unaccountable authority: examples include the Boston Redevelopment Authority and the National Capital Commission in Ottawa, both unaccountable to any form of local (or regional) government. Similar impacts are generated by what Logan and Molotch (1987) call 'growth coalitions', revitalising downtowns for private gain, as vividly described in Los Angeles by Davis (1985; 1992a).

Generally speaking, the visions of Le Corbusier were never translated into concrete: the only real examples of cities built to his ideas are Chandigarh and Brasilia (Hall, 1988a). Because of this, many critics have argued that his ideas have had little impact on the evolution of the modern landscape, and that any relationship between the current city and their drawings "is largely coincidental" (Relph, 1987: p. 70; see also Hughes, 1991: p. 165). The utopian (and comprehensive) impulses of the radiant city were bastardised by the substitution of tower blocks instead of Le Corbusier's visions of neighbourhood planning. Arguably, the failure of the grand utopian vision is thrown into sharper relief by the success of some of Le Corbusier's more particular visions, particularly his maxims of the house 'as a machine for living' and the street as 'a traffic machine'.

> The evil that Le Corbusier did lives after him (Hall, 1988a: p. 204-11).

Le Corbusier has been vilified ("phenomenally unsuccessful") not because of his architectural success (or lack thereof), but more particularly for the perception that his vision is anti-urban and anti-community. This is articulated through a highly retroactive condemnation of the planning system for failing to adequately deal with the social ills coincident with his visions, one that is emphasised by the wider weaknesses within the welfare state that were so revealingly indicated by the failure of the Pruitt-Igoe project (Blake, 1977; Harvey, 1989a). Le Corbusier's concern with social order, and in particular the threat of social unrest, did however find expression through a wider form of "authoritarian rationalism" and desire for control that has always been inherent within the modernist urban project (Berman, 1988; Hall, 1988a; Robins, 1995: p. 54).

This vision stands against the street (Berman, 1982); against the carnival (Featherstone, 1992; Hannigan, 1998); against 'undesirables' (Whyte, 1988); against those who are 'different' (Sennett, 1990); against minorities (Davis, 1985); against women (Ravetz, 1986; Wilson, 1998); against "the formless crowd" of strangers (Robins, 1995). Hughes believes Le Corbusier had a particular "hatred of random encounter" which was expressed through the marginalisation of the street, the emphasis upon the private and the marginalisation of liminal zones (Hughes, 1991: p. 188; see also Wilson, 1998).

To Ley, this sterilising of urban social life is more deeply rooted in a vision of a 'mechanical' city, devoid of liminality and marked by an "emotional neutrality" governing social interaction that would eventually result in a city of "**spaces not places**" (Ley, 1989: p. 47-51, emphasis added).

2.2.3: The Automobile City*

This transition in emphasis from what was effectively still a pedestrian city towards the vehicular city was a fundamental component of the rational and mechanical vision of the city, which sought to separate the two conflicting uses if the urban landscape was to be recast into the bold high-tech future: thus the street would be transformed into part of a wider infrastructure where the iconic machines of modernism could function without hindrance. Street life, however, was random, unpredictable, chaotic and could not be controlled: as such it was the antithesis of the rational modern city where everything (and everyone) had its particular place. This separation of the pedestrian and the street was a logical part of "almost every utopian projection" of the twentieth century (Whyte, 1988: p. 191; Boddy, 1992). It was a key ingredient of the urbanism of the Congrès Internationale d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) and a characteristic of Le Corbusier's visions, which sought the transition from the urbanism of "the man in the street", to that of "**the man in the car**" (emphasis added). This called for the creation of a new type of street, what Le Corbusier described as "a machine for traffic" (Berman, 1982: p. 167) that would remove pedestrians and traditional street uses "from the ground plane" (Boddy, 1992: p. 133).

* This section focuses exclusively on the role of the automobile within modernist visions of the 'city as machine'. As such, it does not attempt to deal with alternative urban visions (contemporaneous with both modernism and postmodernism) that sought/seek to mitigate the impacts of the automobile and ensure the continued viability (if not primacy) of the pedestrian and public transit. This is in large part a conscious decision, reflecting the relative lack of non-modernist approaches to automobile planning in the central core in Edinburgh since 1945 (see Chapter 5). Information on alternative approaches to the liveable city can be found in Relph (1987) and Hall (1988): for approaches that aggressively attempt to minimise the impact of the automobile, see Hass-Klau (1990), Newman and Kenworthy (1989), Engwicht (1993) and Sustrans (1994).

> The war against the street gains force... They are taking the principle functions of the street and putting them almost anywhere but on the street level... Ultimately, they may get the pedestrian off the street altogether (Whyte, 1988: p. 191).

Integral to these attempts to tame and rationalise the city, and to redefine the nature of modern urbanism, was an 'attack' upon urban congestion (Jacobs, 1961; Whyte, 1988). This was not however focused on congestion *per se*, but upon a particular definition of problematic congestion — that caused by the difficult relationship between pedestrians (and the vices which were perceived to accompany them) and that modernist symbol of progress, the automobile. The outcome was a movement against existing ('inefficient') street forms aimed at converting the street into a traffic machine (Berman, 1982; Relph, 1987).

This transition would have the secondary effect of sanitising the street, making it a place devoid of the clutter, random encounters, and conflicts of race, class and gender that had permeated the emerging industrial/modern street. Through this transformation the environment of the flâneur became that of the Other: the street and its site as a place of lived experience was subsumed. The movement of consumption away from the public street began with the construction of shopping arcades in the nineteenth century and accelerated with the emerging dominance of the department store followed by the emergence of the post-war shopping mall (Ford, 1994). The net result was a reliance upon private capital to create replacements for the public street, resulting in their effective social privatisation. A new form of faux-street emerged, one that was connected to its environment by freeways and expressways and contained increasingly corporate pseudo-spaces characterised by rigid controls of access and behaviour (Whyte, 1988; Johnson, 1991; Cristopherson, 1992; Ford, 1994).

This is the logical development of a vision of the city which gave primacy to the vehicle, defined efficiency in terms of the smooth functioning of the (private) traffic system, and devalued the role and the experience of the street. By extension, this also marginalises the less mobile (pedestrians, users of public transit, the disabled) and those excluded from the auto-culture — they are

effectively segregated and excluded* as by-products of the desire to rationalise, define, and manipulate the urban environment (Morris, 1988; Whyte, 1988; Davis, 1992b)† .

2.2.4: Planning and Modernism

Town planning was first conceived as "a way of providing grand solutions to all urban problems" (Relph, 1987: p. 47), although in the face of the immense political opposition to the constraints of planning within the capitalist system

early planners in the UK had little power to reshape the urban experience. The urban planning movement arguably has its roots not only within the visions of a rational and efficient city organised around a recognition of the appropriate roles and uses of space (Sennett, 1990), but also in the late 18th century 'moral improvement' movement, with its emphasis on 'uplift' and 'temperance' and 'appropriateness" (see Fahey, 1996; Parker, 1997; Jones, 1998) which was deeply implicated within a social project that emphasised 'unity', 'control' and 'expert skills' to convert surplus capital for civilising and socialising purposes (Dear, 1995: p. 31).

Relph (1987) dates the emergence of what we would recognise as planning from the passing of the first planning act in England in 1909, followed by the emergence in the early 1920s of a widespread debate about the nature (and prospects) of urban life and the need to rectify the pan European housing crisis. This, led to the growing advocacy of idealised solutions to urban problems, including the proto-suburban City Beautiful movement in the US and the Garden City movement in England. While the Garden city had considerably influence upon planners (Ravetz, 1986), arguably its greatest impact was upon planning (and design) practices, rather than the reform ideals on which it was based (Relph, 1987: p. 62). The only substantive alternative **urban** visions were

* Boddy contextualises this within the "anti-urban bias of North American culture" (1992: p. 139), although it could be argued that the alternative iconographies of 'the open road' and the frontier play an analogous role.

† Many of the largest modernist structures/developments are designed almost exclusively for vehicular access: the Renaissance Centre in Detroit has only three pedestrian entrances.

the high modernist approaches of the Bauhaus, CIAM and Le Corbusier. The successes of organised planning during the Second World War provided confidence in the wider ability of planning to solve the significant problems of post-war reconstruction (Harvey, 1989a), leading to the passage of the Town and Country Planning Acts for England and Scotland in 1947, which enabled the comprehensive planning mechanisms which had been sought by the Barlow Commission of 1937 (Hall, 1992).

> Under the watchful eye and sometimes strong hand of the state, procedures were devised to eliminate slums, build modular housing, schools, hospitals, factories, etc. through the adoption of the industrialised construction systems and rational planning procedures that modernist architects had long proposed (Harvey, 1989a).

Much of the 'modernist' planning which followed in the UK was a series of concerted attempts to modernise both the housing stock and transport network (Ravetz, 1986) in the quest to construct an urban environment appropriate to the emerging post-war Welfare State, where the rhetorics of 'the city as machine' and of the automobile city were widely adapted.

Hindsight has allowed planning to be caricatured as the root cause of the failure of utopian modernism, where utopian goals of 'progress' were replaced by more functional goals of 'efficiency' (Relph, 1987). Planning's statutory role, conceived as a means of regulating development, was altered to encourage growth "by any and every possible means", as the modern city began to face the intractable problems of structural decline and the re-emergence of a substantial urban underclass (Hall, 1988a: p. 343). Such a transition led to the abstraction of planning from "the motives and conflicts that led to the production of the built environment" and hence from the wider processes of capitalist urbanisation (Dear, 1995: p. 32).

The particular failure of planning to preserve neighbourhoods, combined with the failure of the tower block, forever tarnished planning's utopian credentials. The destruction of the Pruitt-Igoe housing development (a "prize winning version of Le Corbusier's 'machine for modern living'") in 1972 (Harvey, 1989a: p. 39) marked not only the failure of a particularly poorly designed social project in America, but was a powerful indicator of the fallibility of master plans. The backlash against the rational rebuilding of cities in America

pivoted around the publication of *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Jacobs, 1961), which idealised a highly particular vision of a city of neighbourhood streets and provided a clear counterpoint to the work of Robert Moses in New York. In his autocratic quest to build a rational (and private) transportation network, Moses hacked his way "with a meat axe" through the Five Boroughs, neatly segmenting them with a mixture of elevated expressways and submerged highways, destroying countless neighbourhoods in the process (Berman, 1982: p. 193-4; see also Kunstler, 1993)*. While Harvey (1989a) asks the rhetorical question "How can a new world be created, after all, without destroying much that had gone before?" a vision of planning that had marginalised redevelopment and revitalisation was unable to provide a response.

In contrast, Jacob's work articulated a vision of the city that was vibrant and alive, a city of bricolage where the local was predominant. This was a reaction against the 'mono- functional' zoning (Blake, 1977) that characterised much of the 'segregated' modern/rational urban planning system (Whyte, 1988; Relph, 1987).

> planners declared themselves enemies of diversity, fearing chaos and complexity because they saw it as disorganised, ugly, and hopelessly irrational (Harvey, 1989a).

A large part of the problem, Whyte argues, is not that modern cities do not have viable, vibrant sections, but that "we do not seem to be able to preserve them". This deficit is exaggerated by a systematic failure to design/plan spaces for people (Whyte, 1988: p. 109-112; see also Dear, 1995). In a detailed analysis of the relationship between planning and the Manhattan urban experience, Whyte argues that the way planning sees and plans for micro spaces (especially the surrounding contexts of buildings) is indicative of the relative success of attempts to re-claim the liveable city. Attempts to blame multinational capital for the construction of fortress downtowns (Cristopherson, 1992; Davis, 1992b) avoid the complicity of insipid ("architectonic") architecture and a 'dull' planning system that lacks wit and co-operates with corporate attempts to

* The political fallout from the construction of an elevated freeway through Boston's Little Italy in the 1960s continues to this day.

control public spaces rather than focusing on developing the urban experience*. However, Whyte does not provide a call for a radical reshaping of the vision and ideology of planning. He instead provides the ammunition for a guerrilla war against the excesses of the soul-less city of high modernism and hyperspatial post-modernism.

The end of large-scale urban renewal should not be read as synonymous with ending the planned quest to make cities liveable. The Thatcherite notion that planning could be left solely to the market (Hall, 1988a; Dear, 1995) assumes that developers are concerned not just with the construction of buildings but also with their integration into the city. Whyte argues that this is not the case. The failure of modernist planning is not in its inability to turn the city into an efficient machine for capitalism but in its inability to ensure that places are designed for people (1988: p. 253). While planning may not have a utopian future, its potential role as mediator should not be under-estimated.

2.3: Modernism Questioned

By the mid 60s the western world was clearly lurching towards crisis: the Vietnam war precipitated a fracture in American society that has yet to heal (Caute, 1988), while the sexual revolution recast morality and lifestyles in strange and unaccustomed ways (Talese, 1981). The meta-narratives of modernism were exposed to new and strange critiques: feminism (Rojek, 1995), environmentalism (Ellin, 1996) and nuclear disarmament fractured conventional political solidarities, while the emergence of Pop Art and Postmodern architecture both acted to subvert the modernist aesthetic.. The oil crises of the early 70s served only to emphasise the crisis of modernism and the fragility of the post war system.

Understandings of modernism have been inevitably affected by the emergence of various conceptions of the putative 'crisis' of modernism, conceptions which

* It is instructive to compare Whyte's criticisms of New York planners with the detail of recent Edinburgh plans (e.g. City of Edinburgh District Council, 1997), which incorporate much of Whyte's criticisms and articulate broadly similar urban visions.

are fundamentally embedded within (and indeed integral to) many of the more recent characterisations of the modern experience itself. Clarke (1997: p. 218) argues that this re-assessment of modernism is directly related to the fact that "things have not turned out in the manner anticipated and projected by earlier modernist thought", as modernism was overwhelmed by its internal tensions and contradictions.

Alternatively, Anderson argues that this vision of a 'crisis' is not a crisis of modernism *per se*, but a crisis of what he identifies as a 'cult' of modernism (1984: p. 108). To him, the maelstrom of the 'original' experience of modernism (from the 18th century onwards) has been articulated through the tensions inherent in the experiences and social relations of the time, including what he characterises as "the imaginative proximity of social revolution" (1984: p. 104), since mitigated by the development of the welfare state and by the hegemonic politics of the Cold War. The collapse of tensions between "advanced art" and "advanced capitalism" as the former subsumed the latter inevitably lead the demise of a critical artistic modernism, which has been replaced by an inauthentic vision of modernism, divorced from the intellectual, aesthetic and critical/political tensions that were fundamental to the experience and articulation of the early visions and experiences of modernism (Williams, 1989b).

Perhaps more to the point, it had become clear that the doctrines of modernism were no longer able to articulate a coherent and accepted vision of the future (Hughes, 1991; King, 1996). This was almost inevitable, given the contradictory experience of modernity itself is a fundamental component of modernism itself, as exemplified by the contradiction been between the 'new' values of (emancipatory) individualism and older (more authoritarian) community based values (Cooke, 1990: p. viii).

The crises of urban modernism revolve around four broad and interlocking themes: the failure of the utopian project in an increasingly corporate urban core, the tensions between authority and place that are primarily articulated through debates about public and private space, the development of an increasingly alienating urban core where the International Style of architecture evolves into the hyperspace of the analogous city, and the emergence of an

alternative urbanism that reifies the street and the 'authentic' local.

2.3.1: Urban Modernism in crisis

Like modernism itself, it was clear that modernist urbanism was also undergoing something of a crisis. It was obvious that the utopian vision of a planned landscape serving as the foundation of an improved, more egalitarian society, had not developed as originally envisaged. The urbanism of the modern movement had homogenised the maelstrom of civic life, removing "the intangible, the metaphysical, even (or so it seemed) culture itself in favour of an objective and functional logic, the spirit of progress" (Ley, 1989: p. 47). The downtown landscapes were increasingly populated by individualist examples of the International Style of architecture, where individual buildings individually celebrated "the elegance of the Void, an architecture of ineloquence and absolute renunciation" manifested not in a concern for the environment but a "wholehearted indifference to sociological questions" (Hughes, 1991: p. 184).

While occasionally magnificent*, the modern city had turned out to be "repressive, ugly, sterile, antisocial and disliked" (Relph, 1987), clearly collapsing through a combination of alienation and avoidance (Blake, 1977). This was not the ordered future of Corbusier's dreams.

How could this happen, when the planning of cities was entrusted to professionals who would consider the best interests of the city? Goodman (1971) blames the emergence of an "urban industrial complex" for the failure of the modernist ideals, arguing that rather than implementing a utopian vision, planners have created a system that is incapable of dealing with the social problems of the city and instead focuses on delivering "meagre welfare offerings that help maintain the status quo" (Goodman, 1971: p. 13). Harvey situates this within a system where modernism and capitalist Fordism have become irretrievably linked (1987).

* It is noticeable that the list of definitive modern buildings often begins and ends with the Seagram Building in Manhattan.

Dear argues that this alienation of policy and praxis was not unique to planning, but instead is a wider characteristic of a modernity where the "political economy of modernisation" has been separated from "the culture and spirituality of modernity" (Dear, 1995: p. 33). In particular, this is expressed through the central tension within modernist urbanism — between the experience of the "maelstrom" of modern life caused by constant change and uncertainty (Berman, 1982: p. 15), and the pursuit of rational order through an emphasis upon the need to control the city, leavened through what Robins describes as the 'authoritarian' disapproval of uncontrolled liminal experiences (Whyte, 1988; Shields, 1991; Featherstone, 1992; Robins, 1995).

> When the Modern movement came to the fore, it professed...certain shared ideals: devotion to a sort of democratic collectivism, industrialisation and the machine ethic, devotion to the city, and devotion to the future... Protesting its faith in the common man and in an egalitarian world, it wiped out "little people" right and left...protesting its utter dedication to the city as the one and only seat and source and mainspring of civilisation, it rendered the city unmanageable and, in effect, scattered its inhabitants to the wind (Blake, 1977).

This transition within Modern urbanism emphasises its central weakness: the articulation of a particular urban vision that was primarily concerned with a vision of the **city**, rather than the experiences of the **people** in the city, a critique powerless to prevent the transition of urban places into sterile and abstract urban spaces (Ley, 1989). As the critic Robert Hughes put it: "No ideal of building has [ever] detached itself more gladly from material or political reality" (Hughes, 1991: p. 177).

The drive towards conformity and control of modernist planning has contributed greatly to the alienation that is fundamental to the modernist urban experience: through the destruction of complex street systems (perhaps best exemplified in Edinburgh by the redevelopment of St. James' Square), and the construction of buildings clad in blank concrete or glass walls (Relph, 1987; Whyte, 1988; Sennett, 1990) the landscape of the street is marginalised, creating a sense of placelessness that no amount of Facadism can hope to counter (Richards, 1994).

While the street network of pre-modern urban forms provided a local context in which individuals could situate themselves, this process was becoming increasingly difficult in redeveloped areas. The cumulative impact of substantial

changes to the relative scales of the surroundings, the subsequent erosion of local landmarks and identifiers (de Certeau, 1984; Luxenberg, 1986; Sennett, 1990), the internationalisation of the visual symbols of capitalism through the processes of globalisation and homogeneity all combined with the rigid conformity of corporate architectural styles to generate the prototypical urban experience of alienation within increasingly abstract landscapes of bureaucracy and capital (Jameson, 1984; Relph, 1987; Gottdiener, 1995; Francaviglia, 1996).

> the Modern Movement, with its shining dogmas, its exciting slogans, and, above all, with its absolute self-righteousness, was and is, quite clearly, a religion as irrational as all others, from snake-handling to psychoanalysis (Blake, 1977).

2.3.2: Modernity, Authority, the Public and the Street

Questions of rationality and order have always been integral to urban discourses and are far older than modernist urbanism (Madani-Pour, 1995). Visions of the efficient city (particularly those of Le Corbusier) were based upon visions of order, control and appropriateness, articulated through "an alarming obsession with social hygiene" (Hughes, 1991: p. 184; see also Wilson, 1998), implemented through a 'rational' desire to ensure acceptable behaviours happened in appropriate places.

A concern with the maintenance of order has not been limited to modernist views of the city: attempts to ensure its malleability and control are fundamental parts of the history of the city, most famously with Haussmann's reconstruction of Paris in the nineteenth century. Questions about controlling the 'mass' have been ever present (Hall, 1988a: p. 26), with the suppression of the potential and the liminality of the carnival (Stam, 1988), the exercise of strict moral control to ensure the 'acceptability' of urban entertainments for the working classes (Hannigan, 1998) and the promulgation of particular rules of conduct in faux-public places (as is still the case at The Burlington Arcade in London) all predating the rise of modernist urbanism.

While Le Corbusier's urban plans were never built, the particular brand of "authoritarian rationalism" upon which they rely (and which he is taken to typify) remains deeply embedded within the wider principles of control inherent within modern urbanism (Robins, 1995: p. 54). This is the embodiment of order

through *control*, supporting existing class, gender and racial structures (Wolff, 1985; Boddy, 1992; Wilson, 1998) while seeking to control the 'other' (Sennett, 1990; Hannigan, 1998).

This informs an urbanism that is highly suspicious of the (public) street (Berman, 1982; Crawford, 1992; Goss, 1993), of the carnival (Featherstone, 1992), of 'the undesirables' (Whyte, 1988), suspicious of those who are 'different' (Sennett, 1990), minorities (Davis, 1985), women (Ravetz, 1986) and everyone else who can be lumped into "the formless crowd" of 'strangers' (Robins, 1995). Like Sennett (1990), Clarke (1997), argues that 'the stranger', and in particular the **fear** of the stranger, is implicit within urban modernism and before it in the fear of the 'working class' and of threats to middle-class conceptions of appropriate social/gender/racial behaviours (Hannigan, 1998; Wilson, 1998). The 'modern' articulation of this fear is reflected in a wider suspicion of the urban, where the desire for urban experiences is mediated by the need to minimise the risk implicit in these experiences: what Hannigan describes as the desire for an 'urban' experience packaged in a 'safe' 'suburban' wrapper (Hannigan, 1998: p. 72).

We can see much of the redefinition of space – from the imposition of private control over pseudo-public space (Cristopherson, 1992; Smith, 1992), with the construction of private, controllable spaces (Davis, 1992b) at the larger scale and the micro-management of 'public' spaces at the other (Whyte, 1980; Whyte, 1988) as symbolic of attempts to control the flâneur. These actions seek to minimise liminality, to limit interaction with those on the boundaries of accepted society and to formally ascribe particular appropriate behaviours (Smith, 1992) and to avoid the threat of confrontation with the unknown and uncontrollable potential of the stranger (Sennett, 1990).

This is most clear in analyses of the privatisation of public space (in what Short (1989) describes as a "contemporary urban enclosure movement") in the downtown core (Davis, 1985; Davis, 1992b) and in a more implicit redefinition within the pseudo public spaces of the mall (Shields, 1989; Goss, 1996) and the festival market (Cristopherson, 1992; Hannigan, 1998). With the development of the enclosed mall in 1956, developers were able to create fantasy worlds of

shopping that consciously imitated the downtown street (Francaviglia, 1996) but were "devoid of the city's negative aspects: weather, traffic, and poor people" (Crawford, 1992: p. 22). The mall represented a 'recognition' of the profound American distrust of the street, presenting itself as an "idealised social space... [where] the terror of time and space evaporates" (Goss, 1993: p. 24-32), within a carefully constructed artifice of tightly organised co-operative capitalism (Cooke, 1990). The mall becomes the new high street, appropriate for the machine/automobile age: the street reverted to its appropriate use as a connecting highway (Crawford, 1992: p. 22) and the movement of consumption away from the street that began with the construction of shopping arcades was complete (Featherstone, 1992).

Within these new private spaces, definitions of space and appropriateness have been manifested in the imposition of social standards where previously there were norms. Shields (1989: p. 160) describes the West Edmonton Mall as a place where "the promoted image is one of freedom, unfettered impulse buying, and liminality" while the reality is "one of control, new forms of discipline, and surveillance" best illustrated by Davis' analysis of "The Panopticon Mall", the secured and pseudo-fortified 'ghetto malls' in Los Angeles where the 'undesirables' are filtered out through the use of architectural and semiotic barriers, leaving a homogenised crowd of consumers (Davis, 1992b: p. 167-79).

Significantly, much of the discussion focuses on the 'provision' of faux-public spaces (atria, gallerias, parks) which while appearing to be public spaces are legally private, despite their provision through zoning variances (Whyte, 1988; Crawford, 1992). The net result is that significant amounts of 'public' space are within private control, where actions are policed, curtailed and proscribed to collectively ensure that the liminal experience of the city is simultaneously 'safe' but still 'commodified' (Johnson, 1991; Cristopherson, 1992; Davis, 1992b; Featherstone, 1992), where we can experience "riskless risk" (Hannigan, 1998) within the "constructed exotic Otherness" (Featherstone, 1992: p. 284-7).

The extreme form of this is what Trevor Boddy (1992) has described as 'the analogous city', a city of privatised and isolated "property" places linked by overhead and underground walkway/subway systems (as in Toronto,

Minneapolis, Dallas and Montreal) where pedestrians lead an almost indeterminate (yet highly abstract) Cartesian existence, inoculated from the city above yet embedded within landscapes of international capital and abstract and global iconographies. These "surrogate streets" (Whyte, 1988: p. 199) serve to provide "a filtered version of the experience of cities, a simulation of urbanity... (which) accelerates a stratification of race and class", where the 'street' becomes a collective of private networks and public space is effectively excised from the urban experience in an urban simulacra where, in Boddy's wonderfully appropriated phrase, "membership has its privileges" (1992: p. 123-4)*.

> The sense of place is also a political fact. What can be done to the look of a locality depends on who controls it... People can be excluded, awed, confused, made acquiescent... the sense of the environment has always been a matter of moment to any ruling class {Goss, 1993 #26, citing Lynch (1976: p. 72-3)}.

This increasing privatisation of public space has "restricted the possibilities for casual encounters and spontaneous happenings within the city" (Robins, 1995: p. 47) . Correcting this, or perhaps more prosaically attenuating the impact of these actions, calls for a planning strategy that will return life and 'real experiences' to the city centre (e.g. Whyte, 1988), if the city is (once again) to become a liminal environment of radical potential and freedom within an urban culture which provides the potential "for negotiating shared concerns at the same time as respecting the value of difference" in streets unbounded by restraints on class, gender and ethnicity (Robins, 1995: p. 58-9; see also Dear, 1995).

2.3.3: Hyperspace, Alienation and the Corporate City

> the city assumed a new sense of alienation and dehumanisation - a result that constituted the fundamental legacy of the modernist project, its immanent critique, its failure — the death of urban life (Gottdiener, 1995: p. 134).

Many analyses of the corporate city are developed from analyses of authority and control in the city, and tend to critique the role of corporations in planning and city development (and redevelopment) by focusing on the impact of the widespread application of the International Style of architecture in the urban core, in combination with analyses of corporate influence over the public sphere.

* 'Membership has its privileges' is the advertising slogan of American Express.

The perception of the failure of the emancipatory project of planning has been increasingly emphasised with the slippage between visions of an efficient city and visions of an efficient corporate city, where the public sector is now led by private and corporate agendas (Harvey, 1989b; Davis, 1992b; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993), designed primarily to meet the needs and demands of corporate capital (Hall, 1988a; Zukin, 1988b; Ley, 1989; Knox, 1991).

This perspective views the creation of artificial, self-contained cities within the urban core as the result of the intersection of attempts to revitalise the city through the use of the International Style of architecture, a style that rejects utopian notions of 'uplifting' the city despite its use of an abstract and supposedly non-ideological architectural style. Instead, it reflects a widespread distrust/antipathy towards the city and the street, resulting in developments that are in the city, but not of the city, that would save the city by repudiating it (Whyte, 1988: p. 207; Gottdiener, 1995). Many buildings were self contained units, conceived as individual objects, rather than part of a wider landscape from which they sought to isolate themselves through restrictions on access (Jameson, 1984; Davis, 1992b),a lack of street level retailing (Guy and Lord, 1992) or through integration into alternative analogous cities above or below the street (Boddy, 1992).

The collective landscape was unable to benefit (in an organic sense) from the role of these buildings (Sennett, 1990; Gottdiener, 1995): this was exemplified by the construction of quintessentially suburban (closed, inward looking) malls in the core, without integrating developments into the pre-existing street/city fabric. A similar de facto means of disintegrating buildings from their landscapes is through the use of 'blank walls' (Whyte, 1988) or 'glass barriers' (Sennett, 1990).

To Whyte, the blank wall is one of the great characteristics of modernist architecture: ideologically necessary for control, such separating structures allow the users of buildings to feel secure from the actors outside their controlled environment, who are often denied access to the structure, both through the psychology of the blank barrier wall, and through constraints on physical access, while Sennett (1990) argues the 'glass wall' is an even greater barrier, as its

permeability ensures the excluded are aware of what they have been excluded **from**. Blank walls "proclaim the power of the institution and the inconsequence of the individual" (Whyte, 1988: p. 226). This results in a city that is becoming ever more polarised by "radically antagonistic spaces" (Davis, 1985: p. 112), where buildings are isolated from the surrounding city, the opportunities for liminal experiences in the surrounding areas are restricted, the flâneur resisted.

With the functional isolation of buildings from the city, either through design, from a lack of street-focused retail provision, through the use of Whyte's 'blank walls' or Sennett's 'glass barriers', it was becoming clear that many modernist buildings were not attempts to revitalise the urban experience, but to internalise acceptable uses within what was perceived as a hostile landscape. This externalised and avoided the 'threat' of the street (Whyte, 1988; Sennett, 1990; Davis, 1992b), and resolved the tension between the modernist memes of control and individuality through the control of the individual.

Jameson's analysis of the postmodern 'hyperspace' of the Bonaventure Hotel represents an alternative starting point for a similar reading of the construction of an anti-urban corporate city (Davis, 1985). To Jameson (Harvey, 1992; Hayden, 1995), the environment of hyperspace is one that

> has finally succeeded in transcending the capacities of the human body to locate itself, to organise its immediate surroundings perceptually, and cognitively to map its position in a mappable external world (Jameson, 1984).

This is a vision of a 'place' centred experience where the alienation and mutation of style and form from previous symbolic mores (and in particular from previous architectural and urban landscapes) is complete and the observer/participant experiences a 'new' form of space whose understanding requires a perceptual 'mutation' in order for the new visual articulations to be appropriately understood (Jameson, 1984; Jameson, 1988). Jameson argues that the Bonaventure aspires to be a 'mini-city' in itself, rejecting the surrounding urban (this analysis is expanded by Davis, 1985): hence the hotel's general external inaccessibility, and a cladding in a glass skin which "repels the city outside" — to Jameson, the mirroring of the city in the glass cladding represents the building's disassociation from and rejection of its surroundings, as it seeks to become invisible within the landscape (Jameson, 1988: p. 23).

This reading of the hyperspace, and of the Bonaventure Hotel in particular*, is highly contested (Davis, 1985; Whyte, 1988; Gottdiener, 1995). Gottdiener argues that Jameson's 'postmodern hyperspace' represents the collapse of perspective in the immense disorienting spaces within and around the mega-buildings of the International style (Gottdiener, 1995: p. 123-4). The lack of 'traditional' symbolism and alienation from traditional visions/conceptions of landscape is however an integral part of the 'modern utopian' language. Gottdiener's arguments broadly represent a postmodern (or at least more recent) variant of Sennett's (1990) analysis of the growth of industrial landscapes, where traditional urban (visual) perspectives and spatial practices were subsumed underneath a new urban fabric whose radically different forms and methods of using space precipitated the 'original' modernist sense of alienation and placelessness.

> it is not possible to understand a modern building without knowing its plan (Nuttgens, 1997: p. 300)

Jameson's vision of the Bonaventure as an internally oriented postmodern building directly contradicts "what others say are the core elements of postmodern architectural practice" (Gottdiener, 1995: p. 125), as it does not rely upon the use of context, pastiche or irony. Gottdiener argues that the spatial/contextual relationships of buildings that reject the surrounding urban fabric should be described as anti-International style, rather than postmodern or "even anti-modern". This directly contradicts the analyses of Sennett (1990) and Whyte (1988) who argue that the focus on the 'building as object' within the International style directly avoids these wider questions of landscape and context. Jameson has arguably become lost and disoriented† in a hyper-modern space, in a hyper-modern environment (in what Relph (1987) would call a late-modern building).

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* Jameson has belatedly accepted that the Bonaventure is "in many ways uncharacteristic" of the postmodern oeuvre (Jameson, 1988).

† "Room number directions signs are clearly visible as you exit the elevators. Do not try to remember to turn right or left out of the elevator; you can get lost. Please look at the signs each time" (Whyte, 1988: p. 216, quoting instructions given to the Bonaventure's guests)

2.3.4: Urban Conservation & Gentrification

> Given the movement of capital into the urban core, and the emphasis on executive, professional administrative and managerial functions, as well as other support activities, the demographic and lifestyle changes... help to explain why we have proliferating quiche bars rather than Howard Johnston, trendy clothes boutiques and gourmet food shops rather than corner stores' (Smith and Williams, 1986: p. 31).

The post war urban conservation and gentrification movements provide a philosophical counterpoint to the rational-modernist city, and represent reactions against the emphasis on large-scale revitalisation within the planning system (Harvey, 1989a). The questioning of modernist urbanism by Jacobs, (1961)was instrumental in subjecting 'utopian' redevelopment to greater critical scrutiny, along with growing reaction against the prescriptive zoning that effectively segregated urban uses (Relph, 1987). Ley (1989) argues that this questioning of urbanism, and specifically the defence of the local, community street with its contradictions, character and its celebration of the primacy of lived

experience, over an idealised and increasingly incomprehensible and unworkable faux-utopian planned vision, had the knock-on effect of *idealising* the street. It was this idealisation which began to position the street as a resource which could eventually be converted over the succeeding decades into a commodity for which the well off were prepared to pay a premium. Disney's Main Street USA has had a similar impact, spurring a renewed interest in the 'historic' pedestrian street that led to the founding of the National Main Street Program to facilitate local restoration projects throughout America (Francaviglia, 1996).

Analyses of gentrification can be broadly categorised as either focusing on gentrification as an articulation of new forms of capital flows, or as a manifestation of the rise of cultural differentiation and consumption (Hamnett, 1991). Ley situates gentrification in the latter, arguing that "an understanding of the emerging urban landscape requires a prior grasp of wide-ranging processes of change in society itself" (Ley, 1981).

> The neighbourhoods themselves include a measure of life-style, ethnic and architectural diversity, valued attributes of middle-class movers to the central city... these desiderata of the culture of consumption should not be underestimated in interpreting the revitalisation of the inner-city (Ley, 1981: p. 128, cited in).

It can be argued that gentrification is partly rooted in a reaction against

modernity which is reflected by the post-modern quest for symbolic capital. Most noticeably, however, this analysis excludes the parallel quest for cultural capital, which was also sidelined within modernity. Thus, for many gentrification symbolises an explicit rejection of the suburban lifestyle, and through this a rejection of modernism's tendency to create/favour environments marked by a "forced democratisation and egalitarianism of taste" (Harvey, 1989a). Rejecting the utopian restructuring of modernism, gentrification is an attempt to re-appropriate desirable and marketable portions of the urban landscape in a clear quest for exploitable cultural and symbolic capital, facilitated and encouraged by capital and governments in a process Short (1989) describes as "taking place" (see also Mills, 1988; Zukin, 1988a; Zukin, 1990).

Smith (1987) reinterprets the consumption society argument through a 'regulationist' analysis, arguing that as the intensive regime of Fordist accumulation began to break down in the 1970s and 1980s there was a transition towards a new regime of accumulation associated with differentiated production and consumption, emphasising product differentiation and the development and exploitation of niche markets. Gentrification is thus a process in which gentrifiers differentiate themselves through transforming the meanings (and symbolism) of places through gentrification (Short, 1989). With the growth of a working class "ethic of consumption", the standardisation of commodity production exemplified by suburbanisation (Smith, 1987) and the widespread expansion in credit (Mort, 1989), gentrification becomes a means of capital accumulation by means of product/landscape differentiation (Smith, 1987). This process was supported by changes in government policy that encouraged (and funded) many aspects of local reinvestment and redevelopment (Zukin, 1988a; Short, 1989).

2.4: Visions of the Postmodern

> In the 80s... Postmodernism was finally accepted by the professions, academies, and society at large (Jenks, 1987: p. 9).
>
> Certainly there has yet to be consensus regarding what this concept means in general (Gottdiener, 1995: p. 120).

Most authors agree that there is something called postmodernism. What it is, where it came from, what it implies and its periodisation are by contrast highly

contested within and across many subject areas. It is clear that many of the primary metaphors of modernity are breaking down: that we struggle to conceptualise the vast expanse of the current (changing) experience, that "many times are working themselves out simultaneously" (Thrift, 1997: p. 139; cf. Gottdiener, 1995). There is, however, no unifying conception either of the nature and causes of these changes, or of postmodernism itself.

Broadly speaking, the postmodern adjective is applied to ideas that question, challenge or otherwise depart from the intellectual and aesthetic heritage of modernism (Dear, 1986; Jameson, 1988; Cooke, 1990). It is also argued that postmodernism is the movement succeeding a particular caricature of modernism (Anderson, 1984; Williams, 1989a), where we are in an era marked by multiple ages (or multiple expressions of the postmodern) (Polan, 1988; Thrift, 1997), although our time and experience remain deeply entwined within the wider project of modernity (Jenks, 1987; Harvey, 1989a; Cooke, 1990).

> Postmodernism is about complication (Dear, 1995: p. 39).

The period of the transition between the modern and the postmodern has been marked by a number of significant social and economic changes. New social and political sensibilities have emerged, in particular the feminist movement and environmentalism (Dear, 1986; Rojek, 1995; Ellin, 1996). The city is being dramatically reshaped by the rise of a new revitalised city-centre urbanism in combination with the development of postmodern architectural forms (Davis, 1985; Jenks, 1987; Relph, 1987; Harvey, 1989a; Zukin, 1992). Previously dominant meta-narratives are increasingly questioned (Laclau and Mouffe, 1987), politics and political groupings reshaped (Dear, 1986; Kaplan, 1988). The ideology of the market is triumphant (Jameson, 1984; Harvey, 1989a), and consumer culture and (urban) consumerism are rampant (Baudrillard, 1988; Zukin, 1992; Hannigan, 1998) within an increasingly leisure oriented society (Featherstone, 1994; Rojek, 1995; Urry, 1995).

> Critics see postmodernists as superficial, populist and enslaved by mass-media imagery. They accuse them of being neo-conservative in culture and politics. They say they are not serious about any moral basis to what they seek to express. (Cooke, 1990: p. vii)

One of the key dividing lines between analyses of the postmodern has been the conceptualisation both of the difference between, and the nature of, the/any

transition from modernism. While some argue that the modernist project has failed, to be replaced by alternative visions (Jameson, 1984; Lash, 1990), others regard the difference as a more ephemeral, transitional one, engendered by more nuanced analyses of the modern project and the re-invigoration of marginalised themes within modernist thought (Williams, 1989b).

> Some have argued that modernism is exhausted, others that the Enlightenment, which led to the emancipation of thought from the clutches of religious dogma, is itself exhausted and that modernity, defined as a commitment to live by the rules of reason rather than of superstition, has come to an end. (Cooke, 1990: p. x)

Clarke argues that postmodernism should not be taken to represent an "epochal periodisation of history" (1997: p. 219) but the recognition that modernism's attempts to develop an 'attainable order' based upon "the force of *reason*" have not been successful, and it is this which has precipitated 'a crisis of modernity' leading to the postmodern experience. He argues that the tensions caused by the inability to construct a rationalistic utopia of modernism has resulted in a 'destruction' of meaning, particularly through the questioning of 'truth', where the emancipatory 'failure' of ideas has resulted in their eventual victimisation through deconstruction.

> [postmodernism] is more of an internal critique of modernism, and the interpretation of reason embodied in modernity, than an attempt totally to subvert it... In other words, postmodernism is the continuation of modernism by other means (Cooke, 1990: p. x).

Williams' arguments about the temporality of modernism, particularly the *idea* of 'modern' are of importance in framing our understanding of the debates around the nature of the transition from modernism to postmodernism. Like Cooke (1990), he argues that since the early twentieth century, the period of the 'modern' has shifted from the present or perhaps a time even slightly in the future, to a period of time that has clearly passed, with which "'contemporary' may be contrasted for its presentness" (Williams, 1989a: p. 31-32). Once the period of the 'modern' has been attached to a particular time or epoch, it gains some measure of fixedness, in that rather than being swept along with the 'present' and looking towards the future, it slowly slips backwards into historical experience. With this cleavage between 'our' experience and the relentless march of time, we find ourselves searching for new means of describing our experiences: we need a new caricature, a new shorthand. We lack a 'simple' framework in which to categorise and contextualise our experiences. More to the

point, without a new meta-narrative, we also have no descriptor with which to gild our rhetorics of experience and ambition.

However, we do know that we have, in many varied and subtle ways, moved past or otherwise fractured the 'modern'. So we reach into the past and copy a trick the critic Robert Fry used to differentiate the contents of an art show from the Impressionistic mainstream: thus came Post-Impressionism (Hughes, 1997: p. 353), and arguably, in an analogous sense, Post-modernism.

Jameson (1984: p. 53) argues that postmodernism represents a sense not of a new epoch, but of the recognition instead "of the end of this or that" marked by what he describes as "an inverted millennarianism", recognising the perception of "some radical break" revolving around the waning or outright extinction of the modern movement, while simultaneously representing a fundamental transition in the nature of capitalism and in particular towards an overarching consumer capitalism (see also Dear, 1986).

This shift is contemporaneous with a series of cultural changes, highlighted by reactions against 'accepted' forms of modernism (art, architecture, film) in a multiplicity of thematic postmodern critiques. This is most visible in architecture, where "postmodernist positions... have been inseparable from an implacable critique of architectural High Modernism and of the so-called International Style... credited with the destruction of the fabric of the traditional city and of its older neighbourhood culture" (1984: p. 54; also Gottdiener, 1995: p. 121).

The 'absorption' of many forms of 'high art' within either the intellectual establishment (Williams, 1989a: p. 34) or the wider consumer consciousness (Jameson, 1988), (thus limiting their critical and oppositional potential) is an important feature of the postmodern critique, and the marginalisation of these discourses are implicated in the wider 'death of the subject', conceptualised as the fracturing of the ability to generate an individual (unique, authentic) identity. In this vision, ideas (identities, positions) are no longer able to stand entirely on their own, but are always co-ordinated and located within broader frames of reference and meaning. A combination of the 'death' of originality (as inferred

from the end of the unique*) and the implicit need for forms of historical reference (an outcome of the end of originality) results in the increasing dominance of pastiche as an artistic method (Jameson, 1988) within the parameters of a predominant and predominantly self-referential popular (consumer) culture (Hannigan, 1998).

The net result of these shifts is a cultural phenomenon which is hard to describe and articulate, not only because of the wider 'crisis of meaning' faced by these shifts themselves, but also because many aspects are simultaneously various or discontinuous, contained within a highly referential schizophrenia of ideas and referents that can traverse entire landscapes, and yet be simultaneously contained "within a single building or work of art" (Jenks, 1995: p. 43).

2.4.1: Conceptions of Postmodernism

Postmodernism's emergence upon the academic stage was both rapid and brash, questioning the Enlightenment fundamentals of 'truth' and 'rationality', and problematising the roles of longstanding critical methods (particularly Marxism) through deconstruction. This is perhaps best exemplified by the work of Jameson (1984; 1988) which questioned the viability of many of the prevailing modernist visions of art, architecture and economics, the writings of authors who challenged Marxism (Laclau and Mouffe, 1987) and those who questioned the articulation of modernist thought and praxis (Dear, 1986; Dear, 1988), before proposing various alternative postmodern social and economic theorisations.

The backlash against postmodernism reflected not only the (often political) affront felt by those stung by deconstruction's whip (e.g. Callinicos, 1989), but also the indignation felt by those who saw postmodernism's emphasis on image threatening discourses of/on capitalism (Harvey, 1989a). Postmodernism was characterised by these authors as its own antithesis: an alternative and competing meta-narrative to that of modernism, with reactions typified by Davis' (1985)

* Campbell (1949) argued in the 40s that myths and epics were invariably structured around a limited number of literary devices that were widely repeated and re-used: from this emerged similar questionings of other narrative works (book, films etc.) considerably before the emergence of post modern analyses.

heartfelt criticisms of Jameson (1984), who was seen as having attempted to develop postmodernism into an alternative and competing meta-narrative to modernism*. Davis argues that Jameson's analyses is flawed, being a hegemonic discourse of a totalising landscape which "subsume(s)... too many contradictory phenomena" (1985: p. 107) by assuming the contemporaneous existence of landscape elements is the result of a single coherent force/process reshaping the landscape, rather than a landscape displaying the results of multiple trajectories of change and development. Harvey's (1989a: p. 116) critique is similar, arguing that such readings give landscape and architecture too much influence and hark back to a wider environmental determinism.

Many of these analyses of postmodernism as meta-narrative are problematic, as postmodernism resists the ready imposition of (any consistent) definition: there is no *one* postmodernism, but many, from literature to architecture to urbanism and in between (Rose, 1988; Jenks, 1995) : a fluidity and opaqueness postmodernism shares with modernism (Berman, 1982; Williams, 1989a). A close(r) reading of the literature makes it clear that there are many different visions of what postmodernism means/symbolises/entails, although there are several ubiquitous perspectives, including an emphasis upon the role of image (Harvey, 1989a; Gottdiener, 1995), especially as part of consumer society and the "consumption as communication paradigm" (Campbell, 1995: p. 117), the questioning of meta-narrative (Dear, 1988; King, 1996), and an increased interest in the politics of meaning (McRobbie, 1997) as part of the wider sense of 'new times' (Hall, 1988b; Rustin, 1989).

Featherstone argues that although the term 'post-modernism' is 'loose' and 'imprecise', it does serve as an indicator towards contemporary cultural change (Featherstone, 1992: p. 265). While its critics often typecast postmodernism as a monolithic ontology, redefining vast swathes of modern life, thought and experience, close study reveals it to be a collection of disparate perspectives on a wide range of issues and artistic and theoretical approaches which cannot **collectively** be described as theoretically or internally consistent (Rose, 1988).

* Jameson subsequently makes clear his vision of 'multiple' postmodernisms (Jameson, 1988).

Given this, it is difficult however to 'define' postmodernism, in the sense that, as Dear (1988) has argued, the postmodern critique is just that: a broad artistic, intellectual and political critique of capitalism and society, rather than an articulation of praxis founded upon a clear and well articulated political vision. In this, the lack of a clearly articulated politics leaves postmodernism vulnerable to charges of superficiality, although it is clear that arguments about style are not limited to postmodern discourses (Berman, 1988: p. 47).

Gottdiener (1995: p. 125-6) sees three strains of postmodern/anti-modern thought: a "patrician return to conservative, classical roots of western civilisation", which combines various disparate elements including a widespread reaction against modern architecture (Charles, 1989), attacks on 'political correctness' (Bloom, 1987), the backlash against feminism (Faludi, 1992), and attempts to re-assert 'conventional' mores of behaviour and morality (Bennett, 1993; Shalit, 1999) ; a return to a more human scale in design terms; and a celebration of popular or vernacular building styles and landscapes (Hayden, 1995). By contrast, Zukin's (1992)multiple strands of postmodernism include an urbanism based upon what Jameson's (1984) 'hyperspace', the influence of heritage articulated through the revitalisation of urban areas, and the wider drive toward the consumption of spaces and the provision of spaces for consumption, in combination with the development of 'ex-urban' landscapes of spectacle like Disney World (Francaviglia, 1996).

Robins identifies three strands of post-modernism, including historical revival, "a kind of high-tech neo-romanticism" and the emergence of urban imaging campaigns. He conflates "a renewed interest in the quality of urban life" with post-modernism, seeing it as "the antithesis of modernist abstraction and anomie... a kind of return to (mythical) origins" (Robins, 1993: p. 303). This reaction has its roots in Romanticism, and he sees that much of the present fascination with idealised revivals has pre-modernist antecedents in the search for the 'authentic'. Francaviglia (1996) goes further, identifying the historical revival movement that became widespread in the 60s in the US (and UK) as an integral part of the reaction against modernist urbanism (which includes Disney's Main Street as a prototype ideal street) that is widely characterised as

part of the postmodern movement.

In contrast to attempts to position postmodernism as different from/succeeding modernism, others (Berman, 1982; Williams, 1989b) have situated postmodernism within a broad and inclusive definition of modernism, arguing that the current situation represents a period of uncertainty and transition within modernist thought itself (Williams, 1989b; Williams, 1989a), a perspective that is firmly situated within a sympathetic recognition of modernism's wider ambiguities (Anderson, 1984). Berman (1988) has argued that we should return to previous modernisms in an attempt to understand the current experience of modernism. The tensions between change and stability are still amongst the dominant forces shaping our experiences, while the tensions between modernism and postmodern echo the earlier tensions between modernism and pre-modernism.

While it may be difficult to conceive of meta-narratives of postmodernism, one de-facto narrative exists, situating postmodernism within a broader capital restructuring that is the engine for postmodern change (Jameson, 1984; Harvey, 1989a; Zukin, 1992). Harvey (1987; 1989a) regards postmodernism as a pseudo-social movement incorporating a redefinition of the city, contemporaneous with a broad re-organisation of capitalism analogous to the emergence of postfordism (though see Sayer, 1989; and Peck and Tickell, 1994). It focuses on the exploitation of symbolic capital (see also Jameson, 1984), either through the "jumbling together [of] all manner of references to past styles" (Harvey, 1989a: p. 85), through architecture characterised by the use of irony and pastiche, and through the formalised creation and maintenance of "organised spectacle" that critics of his ilk regard as little better than a formalised politics of distraction.

Similarly dogmatic is Jameson's reading of the postmodern. Here "every position on postmodernism in culture... is also at one and the same time and *necessarily*, an implicitly or explicitly political stance on the nature of multinational capital today" (Jameson, 1984: p. 55), in an environment indelibly shaped by the 'triumph' of the ideology of the market (Jameson, 1991: p. 271).

2.4.2: Postmodernism and the meta-narrative

The postmodern reaction against modernist thought has been articulated primarily though criticism of the rational underpinnings of the modern movement, as articulated through criticism of conceptions of *rational* planning, and *rational* gender politics (Dear, 1995: p. 27). This is perhaps most strongly articulated in the post-modernist suspicion of meta-narrative, particularly when used as a rhetorical or political device.

Analyses of postmodernism as a reaction against the dominance of a modernist meta-narrative, are somewhat problematic. They are based upon the inference that modernism is itself a meta-narrative, against which a more diverse postmodernism can be positioned as a clear alternative. It is clear that a belief in a 'rational' means of organising both society and the economy is in itself a meta-narrative, and arguably one of the most dominant of the modernist memes (Williams, 1989b). This clearly is not the only narrative of modernism, as modernism is highly fractured and inconsistent (Berman, 1982; Rojek, 1995; Heynen, 1999). Attempts to construct a meta-narrative of modernism are clearly thoroughly modernist themselves — reflecting modernist aspirations towards the imposition of logic and rationality upon discourses of change, although such a project is theoretically unworkable as it anticipates a theoretical homogeneity that modernism clearly lacks.

Williams (1989b; 1989a) argues that the shifts we see represent not a transition to a new mode of thinking, but a shifting of dominance amongst the multiple and competing discourses that have always existed within modernism. King (1996: p. 10) by contrast argues that the decline of modernism and the postmodern transition represents not a decline of the meta-narrative, but of *a* particular meta-narrative. It is the need to find a new narrative which is able to provide what Lash (1990) describes as an 'appropriate vocabulary' to represent the current experience that underlies the rise of the postmodern. The failure of such a transition to a new and more appropriate narrative results in the continued dominance of an inappropriate meta-narrative, which inhibits attempts to successfully articulate political discourses, and in particular, to develop appropriate critiques of capitalism and society.

There are however many postmodernisms. Postmodernism remains more of critique, or perhaps a catch-phrase joining multiple critiques (Rose, 1988), than a coherent political and aesthetic movement, a charge that can equally be levelled at modernism (Heynen, 1999). At the scale of individual specialities it may be possible to develop dogmatic modernist or postmodernist meta-narratives, but even then they are subject to localised theoretical debate. Architecture provides a clear example of this difficulty: while there has been a broad assumption of a correlation between modern architecture and the International Style (marginalising brutalist and high-tech styles, to name but two) it is clear that there is no possibility of articulating a coherent postmodern architectural meta-narrative based upon anything more substantial than the roles of irony and pastiche, given the fractured and highly individual architectural styles that have since emerged.

The primary complaint against postmodernism and the decline of the meta-narrative surrounds the **political** implications of the end of the meta-narrative for politics and particularly utopian thought (Harvey, 1989a; Savage and Warde, 1993 et al).

2.4.3: Postmodernism and politics

The political arguments surrounding postmodernism reveals much about the contradictions within the postmodernism movement. While rationality may have been the dominant meme of modernism, the underlying political vision was utopian, increasingly veering towards social and political emancipation, with the fundamental aims of reshaping society and addressing the problems of inequality and poverty. With the fracturing of the modernist meta-narratives of 'truth' and 'history', many feminist and literary scholars believe that postmodernism provides an opportunity to articulate a more varied and nuanced politics (including gender and environmental movements), free of the constraints of meta-narrative (Ellin, 1996; Kaplan, 1988) and providing a recognition of 'the margins' of existence (Cooke, 1990: p. 96).

Jameson (1991; see also Caute, 1988) situates the emergence of postmodern utopian thought not as a direct descendent of modernist utopian thought *per se*,

but via Marcuse's *One Dimensional Man* (1964). This is seen as the progenitor of an "explosive renewal of Utopian thinking and imagination" during the 60s, that formed the foundations of a range of "micropolitical movements (neighbourhood, race, ethnic, gender and ecological)" which linked the transformation of social relations and political institutions with alternative visions of place and landscape.

This fracturing of meta-narrative into more localised analyses has not gone unquestioned. Left-wing critiques point to the impact of this figurative collapse on political discourses, and in particular to the ability of these discourses to articulate (utopian/socialist) political visions and develop critiques of capitalism (Savage and Warde, 1993; Massey, 1994; King, 1996). It has been argued that this political fragmentation has moved "beyond the point where any coherent politics are left" as it avoids confronting the changing realities of capitalism (Harvey, 1989a: p. 116-7). These wider meta-narratives of capital and change (typified by Harvey, 1989a) have themselves been questioned by analyses of the considerable local variations in impact and articulation of capitalist change (Massey, 1994). It is important to recognise that the fracturing of the meta-narrative, while making generalisations about the political experience suspect, does not preclude the articulation of (unified) political visions, despite the implicit (but faulty) linking of a complicated/fractured reality with a complicated/fractured political exposition.

The postmodern emphasis on play, pastiche and "aesthetic principles" (Harvey, 1989a: p. 66; see also Robins, 1993; Dear, 1995) is widely regarded as refusing to grapple with the social concerns that motivated modernism. However, many of these analyses are based upon idealised visions of a modernist project increasingly subsumed by capitalism (Harvey, 1989b) and they are perhaps naïve in expecting the highly fractured and contradictory postmodern critique to possesses anything more than "a weakly articulated ideological alternative to the modernist vision of society" (Gottdiener, 1995: p. 121). With many postmodern theories moving 'beyond' analyses of capital (Jameson, 1984), this criticism is somewhat unsurprising, as it is clear that postmodern politics is, for better or worse, substantially different from the relatively straightforward

ideological conflicts (class/mass, oppression/emancipation, communism/capitalism) of the modernist age and has moved far from familiar political terrain (Laclau and Mouffe, 1987; Callinicos, 1989; Fukuyama, 1992). There is a need to find a political language that 'suits' these 'new times' (Rustin, 1989; Lash, 1990; King, 1996) while reflecting the variety and continuation of 'older' experiences and articulations (Anderson, 1984; Williams, 1989b).

The role of politics itself is questioned by contradictory postmodern discourses, with the breakdown of the meta-narrative seen, on one hand, as emancipatory and "utopian" (Kaplan, 1988; Cooke, 1990), but also as having facilitated the re-emergence of a highly reactionary politics superficially based on 'tradition' (Jameson, 1984; Cooke, 1990). It is also seen as a sign of the rise of profoundly and structurally anti-democratic processes (Warren, 1994), and a sign of the increasing political strength of capital and corporations in the city (Logan and Molotch, 1987; Davis, 1992b; Hannigan, 1998). The logic behind the fracturing of discourse is also questioned, for the breakdown of the meta-narrative has also been interpreted as a defensive reaction by dominant forces in society (especially patriarchy and capitalism), caused by the success of alternative political critiques (especially feminism) which find their validity and perspective suddenly questioned within a world whose conceptions have suddenly become fluid and inchoate (Savage and Warde, 1993; Morley and Robins, 1995).

For Jameson, the "omnipresent consumerism of the postmodern today" is the result of a "profound disillusionment with political praxis" (Jameson, 1991: p. 267-74). This is caused in part by the relative failure of alternative social movements, with the inability of feminist and civil rights movements to resolve ongoing gender and racial issues, and particularly with the failure of the socialist and Marxist projects to provide a rational alternative to the market economy. This has lead to the dominance of the *ideology* of the market as the only remaining source of (individual) emancipation.

2.4.4: Authenticity and Modern Life

all places are real and imaginary (Francaviglia, 1996: p. 159)

The search for 'authenticity' is one of the most implicit, yet most problematic, of the modernist and postmodernist memes. Inside the 'maelstrom' of change,

between the disintegrating past and the unknown future, lurks the quest for the authentic and the archetype, to provide a means to give meaning to our experience, a search for what Berman has described as the 'nostalgic myths' of a 'pre-modern Paradise Lost' (Berman, 1988: p. 36).

With the articulation of the modernist project of utopian emancipation and renewal, the visions of utopia became forward looking, deeply embedded within the idea of progress (Hughes, 1991). The crises of the utopian project, combined with the fracture of meta-narrative and the questioning of 'progress', have led to the rise of nostalgic utopian perspectives, hankering after a past unencumbered by current crises. Marcuse (2000: p. 4) argues that the 'new urbanism' is emblematic of this new faux authenticity, harking back to a sentimental and idealised vision of a homogenous and conflict-free urban life that "evokes a past that never existed".

These retroactive visions of authenticity pervade the present experience: be it the search for an imagined sense of community, for the local instead of the international, for clear and unambiguous gender and social roles (Shalit, 1999), for a latter day 'Eden', or even the wistful yearning for a mystical pre-hooligan era when football was 'pure' and crowds were known for their 'wit' rather than their violence (Edge, 1999). With the evolution of the world market and the increasing impact of various permutations of the economy of signs, questions of authenticity and landscape are becoming ever more deeply linked with analyses of globalisation and homogenisation, in visions of 'authentic' pasts of local character and symbolism (de Certeau, 1984) as the idealisation of the past becomes an integral part of commodification and historicising processes (Featherstone, 1992).

Postmodern revitalisation places us in the midst of wide-scale recreation and revival of buildings, and more importantly **landscapes**, both past and imagined, where we see idealised interpretations of the pre-modern street. Relph argues that postmodernism is about **"Townscape, the view of the street"** (1987: p. 238, emphasis added), which Harvey (1989a) argues is but one of a number of wider post-modern perspectives. Areas are restored, renovated and constructed, and are then marketed on the basis of their relationship with symbols, either of

the past, or of somewhere else (Richards, 1994; Zukin, 1995; Francaviglia, 1996). Many revitalised main streets around the world display a curious mix of exotic and local symbolism. New street furniture, public art, re-laid sidewalks and tasteful street signage are typical examples, as are double decker buses, red telephone booths, and imitation pubs and pub signs, typical 'British' symbols which have been appropriated as part of a wider global quest for identity which is articulated not only through buildings and capital, but also through the people who use them in search of particular identities (Featherstone, 1992: p. 280; Hannigan, 1998: p. 78).

Francaviglia (1996) casts our affection for the 'authentic street' as part of a reaction to wide-scale urbanisation and suburbanisation, where the authentic/real street is imagined as a "repository of memories" of a more authentic, local, neighbourhood experience (see also Luxenberg, 1986). The revitalised street thus appeals to conceptions of 'time passed' and the fantasy of the small town ideal, while allowing us to "rediscover the old in the new" (Featherstone, 1994: p. 277). This vision is explicit within the 'new urbanism' in America, a form of pre-packaged suburbanism ("probably the most widely-discussed innovation in planning in the United States today" — Marcuse, 2000: p. 4), which focuses on the creation of new dense, pedestrian scaled suburbs 'inspired' by visions of the 'small town' and 'main street'. These places aim to create a "traditional sense of community", typified in many cases by 'gated', pre-made communities homogenised by class, race and income (see also Davis, 1992a)*.

This redefinition of landscape calls for differing visions of placelessness as well: not only should we define placelessness in terms of the replacement of the local (authentic) landscape with a trans-national (faux) landscape (see de Certeau, 1984), but alternatively as the sublimation of the local under re-use, reinvention and re-articulation of older/other signs. This has been one of the side effects of the National Main Street Program in the US, where revitalised landscapes often develop a faux-historical uniformity (Francaviglia, 1996: p. 178). This creates

* Examples include Seaside, Florida and Disney's 'Celebration' community.

new forms of local yet placeless environments, which lack the contrast between the new and the old which gives a sense of 'presentness' (Featherstone, 1992: p. 279).

Disneyland (and Main Street USA) exemplifies this construction/re-creation of an idealised landscape, albeit a highly sanitised, structured and controlled vision of the street. It is one without bars, funeral parlours and churches, "free, in short, of the plethora of urban problems that faced every other urban space across North America" (Warren, 1994: p. 95). Disneyland represents the triumph of design over the reality of urbanity, having become an urban archetype. But when a scripted imitation of the street becomes an archetype, is it possible to ever truly talk of the 'authentic' again?

This blurring of boundaries between the real, the imagined and the symbolic is held to be typical of post-modernism, but Francaviglia argues that if we study the street *in its historic context*, we see that image building and identity formation have always been constituent parts of the street. From the construction of facades in the 'current' architectural styles to the mass purchase of prefabricated shop-fronts in the nineteenth century, the history of the street is also the history of the *idea* of the street and reflects how each generation of urban actors situates themselves within the urban spectacle. This constant re-visioning ensures that we see the street "as it *should* have looked rather than as it *actually* appeared." (1996: p. 136).

2.5: The Postmodern and the Urban

the concept of a 'postmodern city' is fallacious (Gottdiener, 1995: p. 122)

Urban postmodernism is broadly recognised as signifying a break with the modernist/faux-utopian vision of a technologically rational and efficient city, articulated (in part) via an excessively functional and abstract architecture in combination with the dominance of bureaucratic organisations (Berman, 1982). Postmodernism moves towards a more local, more contextual and more autonomous city where space is to be revealed, valued, and exploited (Harvey, 1989a), where "our daily life... [is] dominated by categories of space rather than by categories of time" (Jameson, 1984: p. 64), a city where space (and the role of

space) now has 'ontological priority' in our conceptualisations, in contrast to the emphasis upon time during the modernist period (Soja, 1989).

The critique of the city as a 'rational machine' that is implicit in the postmodern processes of gentrification, urban redevelopment and urban revitalisation is part of a wider redefinition and appreciation of the role of the built landscape, where the modernist vision of the city as a structuring force has been replaced, or at least heavily contextualised, by a more holistic perception of the city. A city-centred Postmodernism, with its emphasis on the role of external (i.e. public) space, and of linkages between urban components structured around an increased emphasis on the role of the street, represents a fundamentally different urban vision from its modernist predecessor.

2.5.1: Postmodern Architecture and Urbanism

It is widely accepted that postmodernism first caught the public eye through the emergence of a discontiguous range of architectural styles following the heyday of the International Style (popularised by Mies van der Rohe, Philip Johnson et al. in the middle of the twentieth century) which had gone on to reshape the face of our urban environments (Cooke, 1990; Gottdiener, 1995: p. 119). While the term was first used in 1934 to describe a sceptical and somewhat negative "reaction from within Modernism", Jenks (1987: p. 8) argues that the pejorative term was not used in a 'positive' sense until 1965, describing aspects of the emerging radical counter-culture that included the Pop Art reaction against Modern Art, and the reaction against the perceived failures of the International Style of architecture and modernist urbanism (Goodman, 1971; Blake, 1977).

Theorising a stylistic transition from modernist to postmodernist forms of architecture since the 60s is complicated by the fluid boundaries of architecture itself. While many see postmodern architecture as "both the continuation of Modernism and its transcendence" (Jenks, 1987: p. 7), there is little sign of the end of the modern per se (Relph, 1987; see also Harvey, 1989a; Gottdiener, 1995). To Jenks, the classification of postmodern architecture is a highly nuanced process, contradicting the categorisation of much that was different or new (including buildings with "funny shapes, brash colours and exposed

technology") as postmodern (1987: p. 30) . Jenks has identified six* broad themes that have emerged within postmodern architecture, in what he describes as "a set of plural departures from modernism" (1987: p. 22), though accurately identifying each of these themes relies upon the use of 30 stylistic/theoretical 'definers'.

The most widely accepted characteristic of postmodern architecture is that it is 'double-coded', displaying "a combination of modern techniques with something else (usually traditional building) in order for architecture to communicate with the public and a concerned minority, usually other architects" (Jenks, 1987: p. 14). As such, it should function on two metaphoric levels: one a sophisticated, knowing, often ironic commentary using a wide range of architectural, literary, historical and design references†, the other somewhat more prosaically linking buildings with their cities and users, using a symbolism (often historic or reminiscent of classical revival) that is thought by practitioners to be widely understood (or accessible) by the non-architects amongst us, and intended thus to counter modernist architecture's "lack of empathy" (Berman, 1988: p. 44). While the postmodern revival of previous/past urban forms and styles is not unique to postmodernism, as periods of systematic re-use/ rediscovery of older architectural forms have regularly occurred since the industrial revolution (Short, 1989; Francaviglia, 1996), what is 'unique' to postmodern architecture is the pastiche of an eclectic mixture of multiple stylistic forms. Once we pass the basics of double-coding and pastiche, conceptions of postmodern architecture fracture widely into a variety of disparate and mutually contemptuous camps — to speak of 'a' postmodern architecture as Jameson (1984) does is as misplaced as the construction of any other postmodern meta-narrative (Polan, 1988).

To Berman, the postmodernism espoused by Venturi (1972) marks a significant break from the austerity of modern urbanism and the International

* Historicism, straight revivalism, neo-vernacular, ad hoc urbanist, metaphor metaphysical, and post modern space (Jenks, 1987: p. 23).

† Often perceived as a "general eclectic stylistic hodgepodge" (Featherstone, 1992: p. 284).

Style, with a new focus on the creation of an architecture that is sympathetic to "how modern men and women should live" (Berman, 1988: p. 47), an architecture that at its best "represents an architecture of everyday life" (Ley, 1985: p. 419). Ideally, postmodernism is "an architecture of pluralism" (Nuttgens, 1997: p. 288) that uses its visual vocabulary in an attempt to close the gap between high and low culture by creating environments "which the untutored citizen may be better able to understand and enjoy", by using "a more heterogeneous, locally sensitive and inclusive language which entertains as it parodies" (Cooke, 1990: p. 109). In this manner postmodern urbanism turns away from the International Style sameness, the modernist de-emphasis upon symbolism within the landscape (Harvey, 1989a: p. 80; Ley, 1989), towards new vocabularies of the foreign, the exotic (Goss, 1996), and towards a re-invigorated vernacular in a process that "revives meaning in the urban fabric" through the creation and re-creation of legible urban signifiers (Sennett, 1990; Gottdiener, 1995: p. 129).

These theoretical subtleties were however often lost on critics who "adopted a current phrase for discontinuity and lumped every departure under it" (Jenks, 1995: p. 30) including much that was 'different' or otherwise new, including much of what has since been alternatively categorised as 'Late-Modern'. This included the Lloyds Building, the Pompidou Centre and the notorious Bonaventure Hotel. That many of these so-called postmodern buildings do not display the "pluralism, ornament and convention" that are hallmarks of postmodernism (Jenks, 1995: p. 30) illustrates the sizeable and continuing gap between architectural practitioner and critic.

The rise of postmodern urbanism has been dated by a number of authors (e.g. Blake, 1977; Harvey, 1989a) from the destruction of the Pruitt-Igoe housing development in 1972. This was one of the defining moments of modernist urbanism, and the clearest indicator that the project criticised by Jacobs(1961) was in decline. There were however other stirrings in the 50s which provided clear evidence of differing visions of the city:

> Some fifty years after Le Corbusier's first sketch for a Ville Radieuse, the most interesting new town built in the United States this century was completed in a swamp some 30 miles south of Orlando, Florida (Blake, 1977: p. 89).

This was Disney's 'Magic Kingdom': a town of pedestrians streets, where modernist attitudes towards the street were rejected in favour of an artfully designed post-modern pedestrian environment, where 'man' was dominant, scale was calculated and manipulated for effect, everything was a fantasy, and the fantasy was the show. This "most influential piece of post war American urbanism" was arguably the progenitor of Rouse's festival markets and provided a clear indicator of alternative possibilities of urban development (Boddy, 1992: p. 126).

The early 70s saw widespread adaptation of these themes with the creation of a number of festival markets, the inspiration being Rouse's Faneuil Hall in Boston. Re-using old market buildings, Faneuil Hall is pedestrian streetscape constructed in a carefully created multiple-building environment, where the presence of chain stores was minimised and a variety of street vendors were employed as part of a concerted plan to create a highly condensed but varied liminal experience (Hannigan, 1998) in sharp contrast to the adjacent 'architectonic' brutalist City Hall complex with its tree-less brick-lined agora. A heterogeneous mix, Faneuil Hall is a multiple use environment where consumers could shop, eat, drink, and people-watch: a site for bricolage and the flâneur, where the constraints were few and options were limited only by imagination in carefully designed surroundings that mimicked the cacophony of a multi-ethnic 'authentic' market place. An escapist landscape built primarily for adults (rather than children), this was the real beginning of post-modern urbanism as a concerted, calculated part of inner-city revitalisation. Significantly, this new urbanism, with its explicit emphasis on place, context and the street, was not a utopian vision but a corporate one.

The most important unifying themes of postmodern urbanism are of the use of context and an explicit concept of space, which shapes how postmodern buildings and re-developments have related to their (local) environments. One of the central themes of modernism was its attempts to internalise activities within buildings, and to redefine/proscribe the street as a functional form.

Postmodernism is a reaction against these precepts, where care is taken to create environments for people to use which both allow multiple uses and which are embedded within the wider local environment (Mills, 1988). Characteristic of this form of post-modernism is its use of environments marginalised or rejected by modernism (canals, old railway stations, warehouses etc.) in a form of vernacular revival, where older buildings are refurbished and in complementary styles new buildings are integrated into a planned whole where the vernacular (pre-modernist) landscape and cultural capital intersect (Zukin, 1988b; Cooke, 1990; Zukin, 1992). This is a landscape marked by the combination of the "glibly decorative" (Frampton and Futagawa, 1983) and manipulated ambience to create what Relph sarcastically describes as "quaintspace" (1987: p. 253), which nonetheless serves to break down distinctions between "between mass and high cultural (architectural) forms" (Gottdiener, 1995: p. 121).

Within this postmodern urbanism is an alternative, more bottom up movement; one that is focused on redefining the liveable urban landscape. This redefinition is coming from several different perspectives: women's groups who want safer streets and neighbourhoods, single parents demanding different distributions of social and recreational facilities, people with disabilities demanding access. These concerns are slowly becoming formalised (in by-laws and building codes, codes of architectural conduct etc.) and their value and importance accepted as a reflection of the desire of people to work and live in built environments that accept and reflect their values and concerns. These are environments that recognise that people are important in the form of the buildings, and have concerns about the impact upon them of the building form. This slower redefinition of the urban (when compared to the impact of postmodern architecture and revitalisation) is causing those who deal with the city and built space to redefine the boundaries of what is acceptable and what is not at both macro and micro scales (e.g. Fyfe and Bannister, 1996). No longer is it usual to look at buildings in isolation from each other, as each affects and is in turn affected by its neighbours, nor are buildings simply machines to perform tasks (factories, offices etc.) but simultaneously human environments.

This approach, which may be seen as a manifestation of a wider postmodern

social critique, is distinct from the architectural postmodernism which is more concerned with external form/design and related questions of context. Given that many would situate both perspectives within the broad postmodern church illustrates the complexity of attempts to analyse the postmodern as a coherent movement, as these perspectives approach very different questions from opposite sides of the spectrum, albeit with the occasional convergence. Such criticisms underlie Gottdiener's critique of the 'fallacious' concept of the postmodern city, for such a beast would require "the universal semanticisation of the contemporary built environment" by a single ideology of postmodernism (1995: p. 129; see also Davis, 1985), a logical impossibility given the fractured nature of postmodern thought.

2.5.2: The City of Signs: Consumption and Spectacle

> Critics see postmodernists as a superficial, populist and enslaved by mass-media imagery. (Cooke, 1990: p. vii)

One of the characteristics of many postmodernism theories is the greatly increased role given to consumption within social analyses. Featherstone argues that the experience of post-modernism should be read in terms of "an emphasis upon the aestheticization of everyday life and the transformation of reality into images" (1992: p. 267). An emphasis on image is not unique to post-modernism, but has a long history articulated in various guises by artists, musicians, artisans and thinkers throughout (at least) the majority of this century. Of perhaps greatest relevance is Featherstone's argument that the increasingly rapid "flow of signs and images which saturate the fabric of everyday life in contemporary society", and which are given great prominence in the work of Jameson (1984) and Baudrillard (1988), should not be seen as an abrupt shift but should be contextualised within the long-term evolution of not only modern society but **modern consumer society**. To this end he strongly argues that the aestheticization of everyday life through advertising and the use of signifiers is not only integral to the development of consumer society but is also a fundamental component **of** it. (Featherstone, 1992: p. 273; Sack, 1992).

While traditional analyses have seen consumption as an fundamental (but unremarkable) part of the production process (Harvey, 1989a; Fine, 1993),

consumption has now emerged as an integral part of wider political and social discourses (Jameson, 1984; Mort, 1989; see also Schor, 1999). This has been challenged by Marxist critics in particular, who question both the emphasis on the 'superficialities' of a consumption discourse separated from the more fundamental issues of capitalist exploitation and the 'acceptance' of a particular form of capitalist exploitation (Mort, 1988; Cooke, 1990; McRobbie, 1997).

These newer analyses of consumption articulate a broad vision that "goes on before and after" the act(s) of purchase (Jackson and Thrift, 1995: p. 205-206), where consumption is part of the construction (and display) of individual identities (Mort, 1988; Jackson, 1993; Campbell, 1995; McRobbie, 1997). These critiques recognise that consumption is a highly complex interaction of social and economic forces (Mort, 1989; McRobbie, 1997) where consumption as the 'ultimate social act' (Schor, 1999) is integral to leisure and tourist experiences (Jansen, 1989; Rojek, 1995; Urry, 1995).

> Tourism involves the visual consumption of signs and, increasingly, simulacra and staged events in which urban townscapes are transformed into aestheticised spaces of entertainment and pleasure (Meethan, 1996: p. 324).

Many of these analyses of consumption simultaneously focus on the role of spectacle in landscape as part of the wider consumption experience. Many view spectacle as an explicit part of revitalisation or consumption strategies (Goss, 1996; Hannigan, 1998; Goss, 1999), while others focus on spectacle as an illusion designed to mask the role of consumption as part of the wider capitalist process (Crawford, 1992; Goss, 1993; Gregson, 1995; Stallabrass, 1996).

> The shopping centre appears to be everything that it is not. It contrives to be a public, civic place even though it is private and run for profit... it borrows signs of other places and times to obscure its rootedness in contemporary capitalism (Goss, 1993: p. 40).

Through the creation of spectacle and what Shields describes as a "capitalist liminal zone" (Shields, 1989: p. 161; see also Zukin, 1992), environments are created which allow a degree of faux- flânerie where consumers are able to articulate a variety of roles and broader lifestyle experiments (Morris, 1988; Featherstone, 1992) in a 'safe' but still exotic environment (Cristopherson, 1992). In places of organised spectacle, the spectacle becomes one of the means by which developers, competing in a highly competitive market, seek to distinguish sites from competing entertainment and recreational attractions by

providing a wide variety of experiences and simulations that appeal to a number of different social groups/target markets (Glennie and Thrift, 1993) while ensuring that the carnivalised 'urban' experience remains wrapped up and packaged in a 'safe' 'suburban' wrapper (Hannigan, 1998: p. 72).

> It is but a short step from illusion to confusion (Relph, 1987: p. 130).

Within the literature, Disneyland has become iconic: described as "the most influential piece of post war American urbanism... the first and most resonant of the contemporary analogous cities" (Boddy, 1992: p. 126) and as the "prototypical postmodern environment" (Gottdiener, 1995: p. 99; see also Francaviglia, 1996). Disneyland provides the obvious reference point for the visions of organised spectacle that have appeared since, from the suburban theme parks to festival marketplaces (Boyer, 1992), mega-malls (Shields, 1989; Goss, 1999) and to the large-scale downtown redevelopments Hannigan describes as 'Fantasy City' (Hannigan, 1998; see also Warren, 1994).

Disneyland, and in particular Main Street USA with its emphasis upon detail, form, and pedestrian scale, anticipated the design trends of the postmodern city through the creation of an idealised, and more importantly, a **sanitised** vision of the street (Warren, 1994: p. 95; Francaviglia, 1996). This urban alternative was widely proselytised through the magic of TV (ABC was a significant investor in Disney) in the first major linkage of urbanism, popular culture and organised spectacle (Hannigan, 1998): Disneyland became 'America's Elysium' (Sorkin, 1992: p. 205)*. Main Street USA was presented as a faux-urban utopia, acting as a counterpoint to contemporary urban visions of the city (even though Disneyland is a highly planned and particularly rational urban vision in and of itself), which became a guiding vision in the reshaping of malls, markets, streets, residential neighbourhoods and, in a few cases, entire cities (Warren, 1994: p. 89).

* It is questionable if non-Americans, or even Americans who came of age after the 60s, really understand the central role Disney played in shaping American popular culture, and in particular the childhoods of the baby boomers.

Fantasy City is the pinnacle of the city of organised spectacle, created by the interaction of multinational entertainment companies and organised capital (Disney, Sony, Fox, Universal Studios) with the willing co-operation of local governments to create 'flagship' developments to act as the focus for wider redevelopment efforts (Hannigan, 1998: p. 51). The result is a landscape dominated by cultural capital just as the modernist city core was previously dominated by finance capital*.

There is an un-stated inference within much of this literature that the exploitation of spectacle and simulation is a characteristic of postmodern urbanism (e.g. the West Edmonton Mall, Disneyland). However, it is clear that 'modern' urban spectacles have antecedents in the nineteenth century Main Street (Francaviglia, 1996; see also Hannigan, 1998) and within "department stores, arcades, world's fairs" (Featherstone, 1992: p. 273). The history of the department store in particular reveals a long history of innovations in organised spectacle, including indoor amusement rides and roof-top gardens (Ford, 1994).

A second set of biases within the literature reflects the preference to analyse landscapes and spectacles created by organised capital, with a tendency to focus on 'higher class' capitalist landscapes (Hannigan, 1998: p. 9)in what might be described as a form of 'academic flâneurie' which avoids the "fundamental and the mundane" of the street and disorganised consumption (Gregson, 1995: p. 136-7; see also Morris, 1988) while generalising widely on the basis of the North American experience (Shields, 1989: p. 148).

2.5.3: Re-reading the postmodern landscape

The number of different analyses of the postmodern landscape is unlimited. Gottdiener finds many of these analyses problematic, as he finds these writings are little more than "impressionistic, personalised reading[s] of space" that turn "a tendency into a universal semanticisation of the built environment"

* The best example of this is the redevelopment of Times Square in Manhattan, where the sex industry was removed to make way for the Disney industry.

(Gottdiener, 1995: p. 131-2)* . While undoubtedly true (cf. Davis, 1985; on Jameson, 1984), accepting Gottdiener's criticisms makes it considerably more difficult to provide alternative readings of aspects of the postmodern landscape. The postmodern urban literature covers a considerable amount of ground in enormous detail, yet still finds the analysis of buildings and landscape problematic. The literature is marked by a quest for a prototypical city (currently Los Angeles) which can be used as a basis for wider theoretical development (Thrift, 1997). Other authors attempt to develop a form of universal semanticisation that attempts to identify specific forms or practices as postmodern. The weak understanding (or uncritical acceptance) of postmodern architecture within the discipline is highly problematic, as is the continued payment of lip-service to the substantive contextual issues inherent within the urban landscape.

What is missing from many analyses is a nuanced conception of context: it is more than possible to have a building that is post-modern in architectural **style**, but modern in its relationship with its surrounding **environment**. Perhaps the best examples of this type of slippage are analyses of the skyscraper and of the mall. The design of Philip Johnson's AT&T Building in Manhattan is a favourite of many critics, with its faux-Chippendale roof treatment providing a fine example of postmodern double-coding which "lessens the distance, at least symbolically, between the higher reaches of aesthetic professionalism and the man or woman in the street" and with its public galleria, which facilitates the transgression of the public/private divide (Cooke, 1990: p. 106).

A more critical reading of what is still a large (pinkish) skyscraper, with significant meteorological impacts upon its surroundings and containing two entirely self-contained retail units†, questions these assumptions. The

* Which in a rather appropriate turn of events rather sums up what Hannigan (1998) has to say about Gottdiener.

† The building's ground floor tenant in 1999 was Sony, which used the space as a technological display cum store. To enter the pedestrian must leave the sidewalk and enter the large entrance arch, in whose buttresses are recessed the store entrances.

Chippendale detail/quotation is not recognisable as such from street level*, and is only visible from some distance to the East or West of the building. The public gallery, which is bounded by brass plaques at each entrance pointing out that it is not actually public space, is a planning easement, allowing the developers to exceed the height restrictions for the site, rather than a generous offering from either Philip Johnson or AT&T.

A similar case can be made for readings of the archetypal (if not prototypical) late 80s/early 90s geographical icon that is the West Edmonton Mall (Shields, 1989; Johnson, 1991). Discourses on the mall, and in particular its facilities and experiences, are often highly particular and limited. The role of the mall as an icon of spectacle is well know, though arguably a product of a very particular reading of a mall constructed in three stages and clearly exhibiting three different 'personalities'. The first stage is a 'typical' mall, with two anchor stores separated by an enclosed street in a model replicated thousands of times across North America and Europe. The second stage is built on a markedly different scale, and includes a full size ice rink used as a practice facility for the Edmonton Oilers, the city's professional ice hockey team. It is only the third stage of the mall, with its faux New Orleans and Spanish Galleons (and a more bizarre a-historic choice is harder to imagine) that represents a postmodern phantasm of incomprehensible signs and symbols. While the mall has been described as a "*bricolage* of historical and spatial contexts [which] wreaks havoc with our cultural sense of collective identity" (Shields, 1989: p. 155) , it is a distinctively Canadian experience, occupied by Canadian chains and local stores, even though the galleons threaten to sail into the supermarket.

It is however, still a mall. Isolated from its surroundings by a moat of car parks and a blank curtain wall of concrete, the mall neither interacts with its surroundings nor does it revitalise the city, having single-handedly eviscerated the downtown retail core. Larger than the local economy can sustain by itself, the West Edmonton Mall represents a carefully constructed artifice of spectacle

* In any case, to assume that the 'quotation' is recognisable **as such** makes considerable assumptions about the visual literacy of the pedestrian.

and marketing designed to ensure its role as a tourist attraction, to maintain and bolster the mall's pre-eminent position in the local urban hierarchy, and to provide an imaginative escape from Alberta's sub-arctic winter by (subconsciously) appealing to the (white) Canadian desire for tropical sun and water. Postmodern analyses that focus on the iconography and spectacle of the mall lack a local context and are revealed to conflict with more urbanist postmodern readings of the same space. Just as postmodern architecture may simultaneously permit numerous simultaneous interpretations (Jenks, 1987), the same can clearly be said for postmodern readings of urban environments.

2.6: The Changing Street

Theorising change and the urban, and change and the street in particular, is a problematic exercise, especially if we wish to develop conceptualisations of change that are comprehensive or grounded within wider debates on the nature of social/economic/political change. If we accept that the meta-narrative is problematic, then the problems inherent within the broader efforts to attach trajectories of change to theoretical analyses become clearer.

While the modern condition is fairly well understood (or at least fairly well caricatured), postmodernism has shown itself to be rather more ephemeral. Modernism has often been portrayed as monolithic, its tensions subdued within arbitrary meta-narratives which glibly ignore the variety and lack of consistency within the numerous contradictory experiences of modernity, which obscures the complexity and lack of coherence that are fundamental components of the modernist project (Berman, 1982; Anderson, 1984; Williams, 1989a).

Geographers have, like much of the academic mainstream, collectively described deviations from the accepted vision of the modernist project as postmodern (Zukin, 1988b). As a critique, postmodernism provides much that helps conceptualise change (Dear, 1986), while as a theory it remains indelibly fractured and contradictory (Gottdiener, 1995). Individuals are invariably able to (and do) develop highly nuanced (if not somewhat fractured) postmodern narratives (Zukin, 1992; Robins, 1993; Gottdiener, 1995), but aggregating such diffuse conceptual structures as narratives of change within a coherent and

explanatory meta-narrative is both practically and theoretically impossible (Sayer, 1989; Thrift, 1997), while arguably beyond the theoretical bounds of the postmodern project itself (Dear, 1995). In practice, urban analyses based upon the various articulations of modernist and postmodernist analyses represent tools that are exceptionally sharp, yet simultaneously blunt.

In any case, working with essentially monolithic conceptions of change like modernism and postmodernism is an inherently problematic approach, as they not only prioritise the role and experience of change (Gottdiener, 1995: p. 132), but invariably present an overly aggregated vision of change. The prioritising of change is a significant issue, as large segments of the modern/postmodern debate revolve around questions of transition, which is invariably framed as inevitable and absolute. This ignores the reality of change as a multifaceted and highly nuanced process at the confluence of a variety of (not necessarily intertwined or for that matter inter-linked) forces that cannot arbitrarily be identified as advancing in a particular manner (or direction, for that matter). Despite the reductionist constraints inherent within theoretical constructs, in reality "many times are working themselves out simultaneously" (Thrift, 1997: p. 138; cf. Gottdiener, 1995). Prioritising change per se negates the experience of change, of the tensions between the new and the 'old' that so define the continuing experience of modernity, marginalising the significant differences between conceptions of change and the reality of change.

Understanding the experience of change is also deeply entwined with that other quintessentially geographic bugbear: the problem of scale (Watson, 1978). While both modernism and postmodernism celebrate the local, they tend to celebrate **particular** locals (Disneyland, the West Edmonton Mall, the Bonaventure Hotel), rather than the local 'in general' (Massey, 1994; Crewe and Lowe, 1995; Hayden, 1995; Merrifield, 1997), where reality is less satisfactorily packed within clearly identified memes and the process of change is far less straightforward than theoretical caricatures may lead us to infer. The 'local' is invariably lost.

2.6.1: Integrating the Street

Conceptions of the local, and in particular the street, have been shown to be problematic as many are indelibly stained by an innate reference to (or perhaps more to the point a belief in) 'authentic' visions of these landscapes (Francaviglia, 1996). More particularly, perspectives are constrained by references to particular archetypes which are held as exemplars or 'authentic' examples of the style or form of development. Many visions are in reality geographically particular (with the emphasis on the American experience), often overawed by the role of organised spectacle (e.g. the West Edmonton Mall) or otherwise focused on organised development (especially the mall) in preference to the 'disorganised' street (Goss, 1993; Crewe and Lowe, 1995).

The relationship between change and the 'historical' street has thus posed a particular problem. Many postmodern analyses have come under severe criticism for lacking a historic perspective of the street and the changing landscape which has called into question many of their insights (Francaviglia, 1996; Hannigan, 1998). In particular, narratives of placelessness and homogeneity may be highly problematic, often grounded in perceptions of change and mythical visions of 'authentic' landscapes full of 'lost meaning' rather than by rigorous historic analyses of the changing landscape.

While authors have called for the development of 'spatial narratives' (Zukin, 1992; Meethan, 1996), undoubtedly resulting from previous calls to re-emphasise the spatial aspects of change (Gregory, 1989; Soja, 1989) or to recognise the particular history of spaces (Morris, 1988), it must be recognised that 'space' is not particularly straightforward. It adds complexity to analysis and raises questions of scale and of language.

It is clear that the street has played a highly ambiguous role within modern and postmodern discourses. There is much to suggest that the role of the street has been particularly marginalised within modernist thought, with emphases upon 'appropriate' uses, behaviours, experiences resulting from wider concerns with control and efficiency. The saga of development and redevelopment within the modernist period reveals a profound marginalisation of the urban street, with emphases placed upon the construction of essentially anti-urban buildings or

private malls rather than public, sociable streets.

While the street has received much greater emphasis within postmodern thought, this has invariably been as an aside to wider questions of 'townscape' and revitalisation that are oriented around the street but not dependent upon it. The experience of the street has thus received lip service in comparison with the experience of the mall or of organised spectacle. The non-corporate has been marginalised. This is perhaps not unexpected: in contrast to the city street, the mall and the revitalised area are invariably more clearly demarcated and highly bounded, allowing exploration of a variety of memes within a structured and controlled area. The street is more ephemeral. It is not necessarily a site of corporate control, and does not exist at the confluence of a variety of interesting themes (control, order, capitalism, globalisation) as do other spaces. The street is still marginalised.

Chapter 3: Consumption and the Street

It has been argued that consumption is one of the dominant forces shaping society and landscapes today (Crewe and Lowe, 1995; Sack, 1992). This chapter analyses the emergence of consumption discourses within geography, and examines the dominant analyses of consumption used by geographers. In particular, it focuses on the relationship between the discourses of the new consumption geographies and the urban street, and questions the place of visions of the street and of its change and history within the prevailing analytical approaches.

The literature on consumption and geography can be broadly divided into two main themes: retail geography, which represents a small, if long-established part of the discipline, and the relatively new (social) geographies of consumption which began to develop in the late 1980s and early 90s (Sparks, 1996), somewhat in parallel with the wider turn towards postmodern theory and the rise of analyses of the increasing role of the sign and image within society, landscape and consumption. The latter have to date had a far greater impact in the geographic mainstream, given geographers' significant participation in wider social debates surrounding consumption issues.

3.1: Retailing and Geography

When Jackson and Thrift (1995) characterised the substantial work on retail geographies as "relatively untheorised", they typified the rather negative view many 'cultural' geographers had of retail geography. This negativity was linked to a perception that retail geography was more descriptive than theoretical (Thorpe, 1992); relied heavily on what were often considered as out-dated theoretical concepts (primarily central place theory {Morrill, 1987 #58; see also \Brown, 1987 #243}, although this completely missed the wider concerns within planning circles of the need to maintain existing retail hierarchies); relied heavily upon quantitative and statistical techniques to construct models of consumers' behaviour; and generally failed (with some exceptions, notably Ducatel and Blomley (1990)) to identify or participate in any of the strands of political

economy that dominated the 'new' cultural geography from the 80s.

Such criticisms were not particularly unexpected, given the slow drift of retail geography towards marketing and distribution studies that generally linked it with a wider practical and policy concerns that were significantly different from those of the geographic mainstream. Such criticisms also ignored the substantive role retail geographers were playing within urban geography in particular, which linked retail change to wider economic restructuring and the changing high street (Dawson, 1988), explored the redevelopment of urban areas (Pacione, 1982), and questioned the impact upon the city centre of out of town developments (Williams, 1992). With a continuing concern with the development of new retail forms and spaces, especially malls, hypermarkets and retail redevelopment, retail geographers made substantial contributions to the understanding of aspects of urban change, although they were criticised for producing a large number of case studies in preference to developing policies and sharpening analytical tools to better theorise change (Thorpe, 1992).

With the emergence of postmodern discourses on the city, the gap between retail geographers and the geographic 'mainstream' widened to a gulf. Studies on the changing nature of the mall, including patterns of development and trends in ownership and occupancy (Johnson, 1991; Jones, 1991) were marginalised in favour of more 'theoretical' analyses of the role of spectacle and the flâneur in the mall (Shields, 1989; Goss, 1992). With the highlighting of the significant differences between economic analyses used by both sides of the consumption divide (Ducatel and Blomley, 1990) the 'divorce' between retail geography and the wider urban geographies became semi-permanent (Thorpe, 1992).

With the emergence of fordist and postfordist analyses, the gap between retail geographers and economic geographers has narrowed markedly, with the development of more ideological analyses of retail change under the rubric of the 'new retail geographies', which focused far more on mainstream 'economic' issues, like restructuring (Marsden and Wrigley, 1995) and the transformation of retail capital (Ducatel and Blomley, 1990; Lowe and Wrigley, 1996), in contrast to the new 'geographies of consumption', which was centred on debates surrounding the 'cultural' facets of consumption.

3.2: New Geographies of Consumption

3.2.1: The Emergence of Consumption

Consumption, or studies of any of the multiple facets of consumption, has become one of the dominant research efforts in social science in the 90s (Glennie and Thrift, 1993). This emphasis on consumption is, however, a fairly recent development, as consumption has historically been marginalised within social thought, perceived either as part of production or the end result of the distribution process (Warde, 1990). It is difficult to definitively say why the literature has taken such a turn towards consumption: however there are several widely accepted general themes.

The widespread emergence of a variety of postmodern landscapes organised around consumption (e.g. festival marketplaces, much waterfront development, the mega-mall), and the increasingly important role played by retailing in urban regeneration (illustrated by the particular successes of Fauneil Hall in Boston, Princes' Square in Glasgow), has brought these landscapes of spectacle and consumption a considerably higher profile than belongs to the prototypical high street (Goss, 1996; Goss, 1999). The emergence of a culture that conflates consumption with wider leisure practices, particularly with forms of spectacle in combination with the re-emergence of flâneurie, highlights the transition from a purely functional view of the urban to a more nuanced vision that recognises the multiplicity of activities that have been subsumed within the shopper's experience (Jansen, 1989; Shields, 1989; Gregson and Crewe, 1994; McRobbie, 1997).

The increased importance of image and aesthetics, particularly those articulated through branding, has also been emphasised (Featherstone, 1992: p. 267; Sack, 1992). The retail environment has become part of a wider system of signification that gives "symbolic expression to the cultural values of consumer capitalism"(Goss, 1993, p. 19; see also Zukin, 1990). Aesthetic production has become largely integrated within commodity production (Jameson, 1984: p. 56), while content and image have merged into a 'new reality' marked by the increasing dominance of image as a means of discourse (Baudrillard, 1988a; Baudrillard, 1988b).

There has been a belated recognition of the multifaceted nature of consumption, which has moved from the act of purchase to a more active role where consumption patterns act not only as means of constructing individual and collective identities and sexualities but also as a means of exploring them (Mort, 1988; Mort, 1996). In the emerging postmodern cultural environment, socialisation is increasingly contextualised through the purchase and use of commodities (De Oliver, 1997: p. 213), where shopping becomes "a means of overcoming alienation" in a city increasingly devoid of public spaces, where the consumer is free to define and mould their own identity (Zukin, 1995: p. 187).

The movement of the language and rhetoric of consumption (consumers, the market, consumer/customer choice) into broader use has become clear, as debates about and around consumption have been highlighted within popular culture. Consumption is no longer used simply to describe the process of distribution, acquisition and use of goods, but has developed as a rhetoric of social and political change, where shifts in consumption patterns become indicators of economic success, and the 'pound in your pocket' has become a significant factor in judgements about the relative health of the economy (Mort, 1989: p. 170). Further, consumption has entered the realm of social policy and welfare, where its use highlights the significant shifts in the relationship between voters and users of the welfare state, where our status has now been promoted to 'consumers' of various public services.

> Thatcherism's orchestration of consumption has been adept at channelling perceptions of growing personal prosperity into its own political discourse [by] equating the ring of tinkling cash registers with political and cultural freedoms (Mort, 1989: p. 163).

While accepting that consumption has become far more embedded in political discourse in the last twenty years, Marsden and Wrigley go further, in arguing that the changing importance of consumption is related to more fundamental structural shifts within the economy, where developments in technology and organisation have reached the stage where considerable profits can now be extracted through continued value-added processing, a shift which is part of the transition towards an economy where consumption has become a more attractive source of profit than conventional manufacturing (Marsden and Wrigley, 1995: p. 1901). Warde situates the rising impact of consumption

squarely within the transition to Post Fordism, with its emphasis not on mass consumption but on the development of specialised/niche consumer markets, in an environment "fed by postmodernist sensibilities" (1990: p. 1).

Consumption, and more particularly the changes in retail forms (food retailing in particular), has highlighted the emergence of new forms of economic organisation, particularly the new forms of production involving highly automated production and distribution centres, outsourcing and just-in-time deliveries that characterised postfordist systems (Murray, 1988). The example of Benetton, which extensively used technology as part of its selling of style, was extremely influential in linking retailing with cutting edge technologies for consumer service and reward (Hall, 1988).

Mort links the 80s expansion of consumption not just to structural changes in the organisation of the economy, but more particularly to the rapid expansion in credit. This effectively redefined people's relationship with consumption, providing the cash-poor a means to buy into "a vision of prosperity" (Mort, 1989: p. 162). This shift in credit operated simultaneously with the first comprehensive penetration of the young men's market by the rhetorics of style and fashion that are typified by the emergence and continued cultural and social prominence of Arena, Loaded and FHM (Mort, 1988: p. 206).

McRobbie takes a different approach to analysing the consumption boom, arguing that the apparent buoyancy of consumer culture from the late 70s must be contextualised within the expansion of global capital, where price competition within consumption goods is caused by the expansion of organised capital and production throughout the third world (through free trade zones etc.), and as such reflects the systematic exploitation of women and children (McRobbie, 1997: p. 83).

These shifts in consumption patterns formed the foundation for numerous calls for analyses of consumption that were not derived from production (Morris, 1988), with the increasing recognition that production-oriented theories of consumption might not be an appropriate basis for the examination of the multiple meanings of consumption practices (Jackson, 1993).

Taken together, these myriad strands of change marked the emergence of consumption discourses into prominent positions in the public (and academic) eye. Other processes, however, have acted to marginalise consumption, particularly in relation to production. Mort situates this within "socialism's over-identification with production", where consumption was seen as both secondary to the primary academic concerns of capital and class, a mere trifle "confined to the private, feminised sphere of household duties and personal life. At worst consumption was cast as a moral evil, buying off working people with an orgy of goodies" (Mort, 1989: p. 165; see also Jackson, 1993).

Jackson and Thrift argue that this lacuna stems from a wider fear of "many on the left" that analyses of consumption risked "glorifying the market and abandoning longstanding commitments to those who are engaged in more 'productive' forms of employment" (1995: p. 220; see also Williams, 1992; Goss, 1993). Similarly, McRobbie has argued that the academic left has "too often felt the need to disavow their own participation in some of the pleasures of consumer culture", where the admission of such pleasures would be tantamount to the uncritical acceptance of capitalism (1997: p. 75). Thus the marked reluctance to accept that "shopping is one of the modern city's greatest cultural attractions" {Zukin, 1995 #81@188}.

While these arguments are appealing, they are also insightful, for they infer what many see as stereotypical left-wing preferences for industry over services, while simultaneously highlighting the intensely political position analyses of consumption occupy. It is also surprising, for such a view seems to marginalise the work of Ducatel and Blomley (1990), who vehemently argued for the development of analyses of retailing that were tightly integrated with the prevailing conceptualisations of the role of capital, that of retail geographers who explicitly linked restructuring with retail change and the changing high street (Dawson, 1988), and those who linked structural changes in retailing to the transition from Fordist to postfordist forms of economic organisation (Marsden and Wrigley, 1995; see also Lee, 1993).

3.2.2: Situating Consumption

One of the fundamental tensions that permeates various discussions of consumption is the question of exactly which processes and activities the term refers to. In his analysis of consumption Warde (1990), points out that consumption refers to multiple different processes and activities, and that any understanding of the process requires a clarification of 'the nature of the cycle of production and consumption'.

The exchange between Glennie and Thrift (1993) and Fine (1993) in *Society and Space* in 1993 highlights the difficulties geographers have faced in systemising approaches to consumption. While Glennie and Thrift advocate more cultural conceptions of consumption based upon the relationship between consumption and identity formation, the practice and mentality of these processes, and the examination of the places where these practices take place, Fine argues for a more economic understanding of the exchange that focuses more on the systems of provision of goods and of the wider chains that link the extraction of raw materials through production and distribution to consumption. Fine went on to argue that the broader task of understanding consumption is hampered by a lack of an interdisciplinary approach to the subject, with much of the debate marked by "the imposition of ready-made theories" and 'overgeneralization' (1993). Lowe and Wrigley (1996) argued in response that much of the conflict can be traced to the existence of a multiplicity of approaches within geography (and by inference the wider social sciences), which in this case revolve primarily around the divisions between the old chestnuts of 'economic' and 'cultural' geographies.

In arguing that geographers have begun to understand "the importance of studying consumption as a practice", Jackson and Thrift point to the emerging cultural discourses within geography (and the wider social sciences) that regard consumption as a process that "goes on before and after individual, isolated and momentary acts of purchase" (1995: p. 205-206). In taking this position, Jackson and Thrift agree with many authors (e.g. Sack (1988), Baudrillard (1988a)) that consumption as a practice has become an integral part of the "consumption as communication paradigm" (Campbell, 1995: p. 117), within a politics of

meaning located within "the world of texts and representations" (McRobbie, 1997: p. 75).

Gregson and Crewe (1994) characterise much of the debate about consumption as revolving around "the momentary act of purchase" (Jackson, 1993: p. 208), and ignoring the wider debates that contextualise consumption practices within wider conceptualisations of leisure and spectacle (Shields, 1989; Crawford, 1992; Goss, 1993). They are correct though in arguing that definitions of consumption must include an appreciation that consumption is not merely an exchange process, but also one in which goods are "given meaning as they are incorporated into people's lives" (Jackson, 1993: p. 208), for objects do not innately contain the entirety of their meaning (both in use and symbolic terms) until they are consumed (Zukin, 1990: p. 38).

Jackson categorises Mort (1989) as part of a "more active view of consumption", one that "asks what people actually do when they go shopping" (Jackson, 1993: p. 213). Understanding what people actually do is however extremely difficult (Jansen, 1982), for people hold multiple, (possibly contradictory) identities simultaneously (Jackson, 1993: p. 215). In addition, Jackson argues that we need to rid the study of consumption from its "overwhelming condescension towards the view of 'ordinary people'", exemplified by a preference for semiotic rather than ethnographic analyses of the mall (1993: p. 223).

In this perspective, Jackson (1993) seems to make the act of purchase represent the beginning of the wider process of (use) consumption, in contrast to the views of Sack (1988), who infers that consumption represents a conclusion of the act: the completion of the production discourse when "you, the consumer, act". In questioning some of the relevance of debates on consumption, Gregson and Crewe question Sacks' analysis, arguing that there is a marked lack of focus "on the skills of the shopper" that would enable an appreciation of the process of consumption, which in the literature seems to invariably occur within malls and "middle class consumption spaces" (Gregson and Crewe, 1994: p. 264; see also Zukin, 1990; Crewe, 1994; McRobbie, 1997: p. 81).

The social construction of places of consumption is significant, for while it is widely recognised that the mall is at the centre of a range of semiotic and architectural mechanisms that reinforce the control of the developer/operator (Shields, 1989; Davis, 1992), there is a marked lack of knowledge about how similar processes affect a high street where particular outlets are becoming 'increasingly identifiable' with specific social classes (Gregson and Crewe, 1994: p. 2641). Similarly, McRobbie points out that analyses have been constrained by a lack of focus on the issues of race (1997), gender (Jackson (1993) describes the disinterest in questions of gender within consumption studies as a "yawning gap") and class (Boddy, 1992), issues which clearly shape the construction and control of consumption spaces (Boddy, 1992; Goss, 1993; Hannigan, 1998).

McRobbie (1997: p. 74-75) argues that the divide between production and consumption is highly artificial, for such divisions ignore "the production of consumption" (and the fractured, gendered, class based and often racist nature of the process). There is a need for a re-conceptualisation of this divide that takes into account the multiple levels of social, cultural as well as economic practices which traverse this divide. One attempt to link production and consumption is found in the work of Baudrillard, particularly in *Consumer Society*, which while downplaying the more social aspects of consumption, explicitly links production, advertising, and consumption through the overarching theme of "the need to dispose of the product" (1988a: p. 38).

3.2.3: Consumption and Geography

In Glennie and Thrift's overview of the geographic contribution to the consumption literature, they argued that while there had been very little geographical work done on consumption by the mid-1980s, by the turn of the decade, "such claims are now becoming absurd" (1993: p. 423). Two years earlier however, Jackson had argued that the most striking feature of the geographical consumption literature "is its relative paucity", where the geographical emphasis was clearly on the many geographies of production rather than consumption per se (Jackson, 1993: p. 209). This marked transition within the discipline has since been linked to the 'appropriation' of consumption as a significant research theme by high-profile members of the academy (Gregson, 1995: p. 135), and the

blurring of boundaries between economic, social and cultural geographies that has provided intellectual room for analyses linking consumption and identity (Crewe and Lowe, 1995).

Glennie and Thrift (1993: p. 423) explicitly link the emergence of this new consumption literature with the 'identification of a new postmodern epoch', where the emergence of niche markets, a renewed emphasis upon style and fashion, and increasingly varied means of identity formation spawned new forms of social and economic organisation in a pattern they describe as "by now so well known that they need only minimal repetition".

The exact nature and history of the rise of 'mass' consumption in the Fordist/Post-Fordist era remains the subject of much debate. While many have drawn links between the emergence of mass consumption and the rise of mass production and the implementation of Keynesian economic policies to manage demand, Glennie and Thrift (1993), Zukin (1988) and Goss (1992) all argue though that this history of consumption is an inaccurate oversimplification, taking the contrary position that mass consumption has also been a characteristic of pre-modern (meaning pre-Fordist, and even pre Taylorist) western societies (see also Boddy, 1992; Crawford, 1992).

One of the defining characteristics of this new postmodern epoch was the perceived emergence of both commodification and consumption discourses as part of the wider impact of the emergence of what has been described as 'the new economy of signs'. Indeed, Goss argues that consumption discourses have become so dominant that shopping may be "the second most important cultural activity in North America" (1992: p. 159) *, in a consumer environment that has become the "central place of contemporary socialisation" (De Oliver, 1997: p. 230).

The relationship between consumption geographers and these environments have however, been somewhat tortuous. Central to analyses are the contrasting claims to primacy of the experience of consumption, where the act of purchase is

* Watching television is the first.

but part of the wider use process which is a fundamental component of relationships with place and of identity formation, and arguments about place, particularly specific sites of consumption.

3.2.4: The Role of the Flâneur

> The *flâneur* is essentially a product of modernity... It is also an attempt to 'see' modernity; a metaphor for method (Jenks, 1995: p. 146).

The flâneur has staged something of a renaissance in recent years in the geographical literature (Shields, 1989; Shields, 1991; Shields, 1992), where the experience of flânerie has been used as a means to analyse the changing urban experience, and more particularly the experience of postmodern and consumption places (Jenks, 1995). Historically, the use of the flâneur as an analytical tool has proved problematic, primarily due to the gender issues surrounding the flâneur. Morris is one of a number of authors who argue that the flâneur must be male, for the particular expression of public and private spheres that were articulated in the nineteenth century, particularly concerns with public order, and the fear of the mass and the liminal potential of the carnival and the crowd, in combination made a female flâneur impossible, for it would be unacceptable for a female to experience the liberation inherent within flânerie (Morris, 1988: p. 220; see also Wolff, 1985).

In trying to rehabilitate the flâneur, Jenks positions him as a device that allows us to "'move' from real products of modernity, like commodification and leisured patriarchy, through the practical organisation of space". To Jenks, the flâneur is a detached observer, whose reflexivity "enables resistance to the commodity form", and as such provides a means to analyse the position and experience of the form itself (Jenks, 1995: p. 149). This vision of the flâneur is similar to that of Shields, who describes the practices of mall consumers as "a new indoor flânerie (strolling)" (1989: p. 149).

Even with these re-definitions, the device of the flâneur is still viewed as problematic. Jenks (1995: p. 147) argues that "The dislike of the flâneur stems, in part, from the fact that he cannot be pinned down", though this contrasts with arguments that the flâneur is intrinsically both middle class, and gendered (e.g. McRobbie, 1997). The flâneur is also problematic in that while [s]he moves

through space and observes, **the flâneur does not consume**, or otherwise participate in any other exchange relationship. As such, the flâneur must play an ambiguous role in the analysis of consumption and consumption spaces.

When Shields analyses West Edmonton Mall as a commercialised liminal zone predicated upon "its carnivalesque appropriation as a site for flânerie by its users" (1989: p. 161), he reinforces the identification of the flâneur with 'diversion', and the separation between the activity of the flâneur and the more 'essential' tasks of consumption and the day to day reproduction of society. Through this, the flâneur is felt to move away from the mundane details of what Eyles (1989) calls the "taken-for-granted reality...the unquestioned background" of everyday life, the consumption of **essentials**, towards a consumption of spectacle and carnival which has been viewed with rather more suspicion.

Our acceptance of the utility of the flâneur depends, to a large extent, on how we perceive consumption and its signs and the emphasis we allocate to them. How can we square the ability of the flâneur on one hand to cut through the 'static' of consumption, with Goss's argument (1993) that the same static, the spectacle, is deliberately designed to "mask the materiality" of commodities and the environments in which they are sold?

While the flâneur is a useful tool to aid in the understanding of the uses and experiences of space, as a method it essentially ignores (or is unable to pose) wider questions about the landscapes through which the flâneur passes. As such, the flâneur is implicated within wider perspectives of the urban which focus on the experience of the urban in contrast to the context and nature of the urban itself. In a culture of signs which ever more closely approximates Baudrillard's 'simulation culture', the flâneur's relationship to the sign (Jenks, 1995) may blind him to the wider changes within the urban landscape.

3.2.5: The Place of Advertising

The analysis of advertising has provided a method for geographers to develop links between capitalism, image, and place. As such, analyses of what Sack (1988: p. 642) describes as "the language of consumption", both historical (Miller, 1991) and contemporary (Sack, 1988; Sack, 1992; Glennie and Thrift, 1993)

have become more prominent in the geographical literature. Much of this work is founded upon the analysis of the role of the sign and of the object. In many cases it relies upon the seminal work of Baudrillard who argued "We are living in the period of the objects: that is we live by their rhythm, according to their incessant cycles" (Baudrillard, 1988a: p. 29).

Analyses of advertising are based upon belief that it represents a conscious attempt to reshape our relationship with products, and thence capitalism in a wider sense, to 'control consumers' through the targeted release of information and ideas that shape demand and continually shape conceptions of 'necessity' (Glennie and Thrift, 1993: p. 433). Central to the power of advertising is its (perceived) ability to disengage the sale of goods from the conditions of their production*: goods are presented "in a highly abstracted light... without a trace of its real origins and history". Once this abstraction has occurred, 'all' that is left is to persuade "people who have not produced the product that they need it" (Sack, 1988: p. 653-4).

Sack builds on this foundation by arguing that we need to "focus on the experience of being in the world that mass consumption creates... Products affect place" (Sack, 1988: p. 643). In arguing that products embody social relations, he argues that we must turn to "the idealisations in advertisements" if we are to unpack the complex relationships between consumers, capital, consumption and society (1988: p. 645-6). One of Sack's most powerful arguments is that "products create contexts": thus advertising becomes a constituent part of the wider production of symbols which form the foundation for social interaction in this modern world (1988: p. 651). Within this world of symbols, Sack gives advertising a position of primacy, arguing that advertising embodies a "pure" form of the language of consumption, in comparison to the "open-endedness and complexity of real places" in which competing discourses of signs, be they of advertising or otherwise, conflict and compete for attention (1988: p. 659). Through advertising, the selling of goods can be homogenous, far-reaching and consistent, in contrast to the unruly spectacle of consumption

* In this, advertising and the spectacle of the mall play similar roles.

places, which are "irrevocably local and not equally accessible to all" (1988: p. 660).

In this sense advertising operates on a different manipulative logic than do other consumption arenas. Crawford argues that Malls (and by extension many other kinds of spatially-grounded retail areas like festival markets) operate on a logic of "indirect commodification" and "adjacent attraction", where objects are decontextualised within an environment which contains non-consumable attractions and images, and where objects are then placed within an unexpected context, giving them added interest and excitement (Crawford, 1992: p. 14-5; see also Gottdiener, 1995).

Through these methods, objects are given context not through the idealised semiotics of the commercial or advertisement, but through the interaction of architecture and spectacle. It is the act of consumption with resolves the tension between the value of the object and its contextualised position. By participating in this process, by browsing and purchasing, consumers are able to "participate in the construction of their everyday environment" (Sack, 1988: p. 643).

Miller (1991) moves Sack's analysis further, by contextualising the role of advertising more broadly within the inter-linked spheres of capital and social change. In his study of American advertising at the beginning of the twentieth century, Miller finds that

> there was a constant interplay between the conditions of daily life, and the advertising images used to influence the consumption responses to those conditions (Miller, 1991: p. 289)

As a result, Miller characterises advertising as an "explicitly ideological, and hence manipulative discourse" that attempts to shape both demand and the market, by attempting to define and control the language and visions of change (1991: p. 288-9). This is similar to the work of Baudrillard (1988a), who develops a complex and nuanced vision of the relationship between capital, advertising and consumption via the 'political economy of the sign' (Baudrillard, 1988b).

Alternative analyses downplay the role of advertising as the sole shaper of discourse, for in a world of growing semiotic literacy, advertising can "be very effectively hijacked" by and for cultures of resistance (Mort, 1989: p. 166). Mort

argues that advertising should not be seen merely as a "slaves of capital", but as an intermediary between consumers and the market, able to shape discourse on its own terms (1989: p. 167). This perspective recognises the relationship between advertising and production is far from direct and linear, and is in fact more nuanced than many recognised (cf. Jackson, 1993). In developing a conception of consumption that visualises the process of consumption as part of a wider exchange relationship between consumer capitalism and individual experience that may be articulated through the device of advertising or through the popular use and appropriation of advertising images, the false distinction between consumers and the market is bridged.

Such conceptualisations locate advertising within wider social relationships that exceed the bounds of visions of advertising as a process of image manipulation purely for 'profit maximisation', and emphasise the wider and somewhat autonomous social role that advertising facilitates (Glennie and Thrift, 1993), although Mort believes that this social role is marginalised as part of a wider political refusal to accept the social implications of validating consumer culture (Mort, 1988).

Arguments about advertising, like many esoteric postmodern discourses, are highly reliant upon analyses of the status and role sign. Like the 'double-coding' that is used in architecture, such analyses not only privilege the sign, but assume significant levels of visual and cultural literacy to receive and decipher 'authenticity' of the sign in daily life. While advertising is based upon the transmission of understandable signs (or signs which can be contextualised) analyses of the role of the sign often rely upon an uncritical acceptance of the portability and transparency of the medium.

This focus on advertising within geographical consumption studies is not uncontested: Jackson argues that a focus on advertising is problematic in that Sack's work (1988) "is part of the reduction of the act of consumption to a single act of purchase", (Jackson, 1993; see also Gregson, 1995), a reduction which not only removes questions of experience and the use of goods and services, but also acts to minimise both the role of space and the history and evolution of these consumption environments. The links between many studies of advertising and

their more basic assumptions about the nature and history of the growth of mass/modern consumption (which have themselves become highly contested in recent years — Glennie and Thrift, 1993) has made the study of advertising problematic to many (Gregson, 1995: p. 138).

> To treat consumer learning as dominated by advertising is a narrow view, overly modernist about the nature both of selling and of consumer learning (Glennie and Thrift, 1993: p. 433)

3.2.6: The Mall and Consumption

> There is little doubt that the shopping mall was the urban 'cathedral' of the 1980s (Gregson and Crewe, 1994).

The mall, and the mega malls of North America in particular (the West Edmonton Mall, the Mall of America), have assumed an iconic, almost mythical status within segments of the consumption and geographical literatures during the 90s, where their form has been highly influential in the debates about consumption, spectacle, leisure and the future of the city. While the mall has achieved iconic status in North American life (which largely reflects their necessity in highly suburban environments), their relevance to European cities still organised around a pedestrian core is rather more questionable. As archetypes, these malls are irresistible: the combination of scale, the myriad conflicts between public and private uses of space, the centrality of spectacle and experience, the role of capital in shaping the environment, all combined in one single site, ready for the analyst.

The mega-mall is a curious thing, part destination, part local monopoly. A fantasy world divorced from the reality of life, an aestheticised yet homogenised and controlled, if not dominated, by corporate capital. Shields describes the West Edmonton Mall as a type of "play space" which offers an escape from the overarching rationality of the outside world within a space that glorifies leisure and consumption within a series of highly structured yet contrasting and distinctive environments in what he describes as "a new collective sense of place" (Shields, 1989: p. 153). Yet the mall is still a place of organised consumption, one where spectacle has been integrated into a wider process of spatial domination and capital extraction (Jones, 1991; Crawford, 1992; Gottdiener, 1995). Within the constructed environment of bricolage, where flânerie is encouraged, if not required, resides the shop, the site of consumption, nexus of capitalism (Price,

1995; Goss, 1999).

The internalised street of the mall is arguably the primary point of conflict in debates about public and private space. Malls reject the public, turn their backs upon the street, and reflect a wider distrust of the street and of the unknown and uncontrollable crowd (Crawford, 1992; Goss, 1993). While he recognises that malls are fragments of the broader systems of spatiality and social practices, Shields (1989: p. 147)argues that many hostile analyses of the mall rely upon "a behaviouristic vision of that old but now dystopian architectural revolution: control through architecture" (Shields, 1989: p. 157). Critical readings of the mall focus precisely on this, situating the mall specifically within a wider capitalist sphere which exists to reinforce consumption spending within exceptionally carefully constructed economic environments (Gottdiener, 1995; Price, 1995). Shield's argument that this 'modernist' analysis has been transcended by the sheer vitality of "human life", blithely ignores the continued construction of such places by gender, class and ethnicity (cf. Davis, 1992) and contradicts his own recognition that the 'reality' of the mall is "one of control, new forms of discipline, and surveillance" (Shields, 1989: p. 160). Within this space of control, many of the mall's characteristics as a 'social artefact' are revealed to be integral parts of its economic functions: they are contingent upon them. Thus there is no need to recognise the "importance of being a citizen" (Shields, 1989: p. 158) within the mall because in the mall we are *not* citizens: we are merely consumers, unable to demonstrate, picket, or often photograph within the private spaces and places of the mall as a medium for capitalism.

The emphasis upon the mall and the role of the mall in the literature has been heavily criticised on a number of fronts. Gregson has criticised these analyses as "a few invocations of the faceless flâneur, loitering and wandering on the consumption stage" (1995: p. 136). In this, the use of the flâneur as a analytical tool is simultaneously a form of flânerie itself, particularly with the emphasis upon experience and spectacle. Jackson has also criticised geographers who have studied the semiotics of the mall, emphasising the tendency to "*assume* a reading rather than exploring it empirically" (Jackson, 1993: p. 209). The reality is there is little empirical work done on these spaces, despite the call by Morris (1988) to

develop the hidden histories of consumption places that were traditionally characterised as monolithic and unchanging within the literature.

The mall, and especially the West Edmonton Mall, should not be taken to be an archetype it so clearly is not, for the experience of the mall is significantly different from the reality of most people's experience, with their use of the high street and participation in both first and second cycles of consumption (Crewe, 1994; Gregson and Crewe, 1994; Crewe and Lowe, 1995) . The esoteric geographies of the mall of spectacle are far removed from the "activity of shopping and the skills of the shopper". Indeed, it is this divorce from the "the fundamental and the mundane" that so emphasises the weaknesses of these readings, whose uniqueness makes their insights difficult to translate onto the High Street (Gregson, 1995: p. 136-7; see also Morris, 1988). While the mall may represent the reality of the American street, its dominance in Europe is questioned and resisted on multiple fronts.

3.3: The Street and the Place of Consumption

As the consumption literature has developed, it has arguably become considerably more complex, not only through the generation of increasingly more comprehensive studies, but also through an increasingly abstracted series of theoretical positions. While at one point the 'concept' of consumption would have readily been identified with the proverbial 'act of purchase', today the word and its associated concepts have broadened considerably. Consumption is now situated as part of a wider series of lifestyle decisions, where the goods we purchase and the way in which we consume them are integral to our self-constructed identities. This theoretical movement has seen consumption become a shorthand not (necessarily) for capitalist exchange, but for a wider series of interactions: hence it is argued we now 'consume' images not only of goods, but now also of landscapes (Meethan, 1996; Urry, 1995). This development, while significantly expanding our ability to conceptualise our relationship with our surroundings, also threatens our understanding of consumption in a fundamental way by significantly reducing the role 'shopping' plays within consumption. While it is important to recognise the multiple meanings of consumption, if we move more towards the cultural aspects of consumption do we not also run the

ultimate risk of detaching consumption from capitalism and thence from the places and processes that have been constructed to facilitate these exchanges?

Such a transition further marginalises shopping environments. While it is clear that analyses of places of (unspectacular) consumption were (and remain) marginalised within academia, the growing preference to avoid examining the landscapes of 'everyday' life (Morris, 1988; Eyles, 1989) ensures that we have little understanding of how our everyday shopping environments change. When Jackson and Thrift react against the tyranny of the mall by calling for a movement away from analyses of "the single site" (Jackson and Thrift, 1995: p. 211), they run the risk of condoning (even accidentally) a movement away from studies of sites in general, towards geographies that either assume sites are unproblematic, or which regard them simply as a context in which wider scale consumption discourses (particularly those revolving around questions of constructed identity) are articulated. There is a fundamental lack of understanding of the environments in which we consume. In focusing on the goods (and uses of the goods) that are purchased, analyses ignore the fundamental questions of where and in what kinds of place goods and services are purchased. Indeed, our understanding of what people 'actually do' while shopping must be underpinned by an understanding of the places they go shopping, and how these places also change over time.

In summing up their analyses of the emerging geographies of consumption, Jackson and Thrift recognise that in contrast to the substantial literature devoted to the shopping mall, what they describe as "less formal gathering places like high streets" have received much less attention in the literature (Jackson and Thrift, 1995: p. 211; see also Gregson and Crewe, 1994). This gap may be contextualised within a wider recognition of the need to reappraise the role of the street within popular culture (Crouch, 1998), although such grand positions invariably stumble over the details of change and the role of history and the street. Gregson is right to argue that much of the literature focuses on the consumption patterns of "the discerning middle classes" within what she describes as 'formal' urban spaces (Gregson and Crewe, 1994: p. 262). There is a need for the study of spaces that are not only 'banal', but which more accurately

represent the breadth of the consumption experience, that focus not only on the 'high street' but on the alternative, more marginalised spaces of local consumption.

There is a need to recognise the position of the street as central to the urban experience, particularly the urban consumption experience. Consumption is spatially embedded within the urban (Zukin, 1990): it is not adjacent to the urban, but a fundamental constituent part of it. The street is invariably seen as marginal within much of the consumption literature, a place relegated to the status of "the everyday, the so-called banal, the supposedly un- or non-experimental" (Morris, 1988: p. 202). The reality is the street occupies a central position within consumption, the environment, the framework within which the processes of consumption happen. As such, the street is the stage, with consumers the actors. It has become common to divorce history from consumption sites, to conceive of them as fixed, permanent, unchanging (Morris, 1988). There is a significant need to accept that the 'stage' of the street is not fixed, static, but one which is continuously changing and evolving. While it has been recognised that the street is changing (Zukin, 1995; Millward and Winsor, 1997), studies have yet to explore the nuances of change in detail, preferring to focus on comparisons between 'then' and 'now'. But even these conceptions are too fixed: lost is the detail, the happenings between now and then.

The street is not static. It evolves as the occupants and uses change, even if their architectural forms and boundaries remain unaltered. These changes reflect the evolution of local and national forms of capital: their environment changes to reflect the evolution of local and national planning guidelines; their history often preserved through the listing of their constituent buildings; the process of facadism; the 'reconstruction' of particular streetscapes. There is a need to build an alternative geography of consumption, one that is rooted in the changing high street, a geography which recognises and cherishes its context, one with a sense of history, while accepting the fundamental importance of change. Such an approach would examine the middle ground that lies between the examination of the individual experiences of consumption on the one hand and the more esoteric and abstract analysis of the North American mega-mall on the other.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Edinburgh was chosen as the focus of this study for several reasons. As the capital of Scotland, it occupies an important role in the urban hierarchy of the United Kingdom. Popularly known as the 'Athens of the North', it is famous for its beauty, particularly the extensive historic centre with its combination of the Old Town, with Edinburgh Castle and Holyrood Palace joined by the historic Royal Mile, and the Victorian quarter to the north, with the famous Princes Street and its gardens, with the New Town stretching to the North with its views towards the Firth of Forth and beyond to Fife.

In addition, Edinburgh has considerable cultural significance, as the Scottish capital and as a noted international cultural centre, due to its historic role and situation, complemented by the numerous international festivals it hosts every year. It has become a significant tourist centre, complimenting its cultural and historic roles.

A significant part of Edinburgh's appeal is the lack of large scale organised urban redevelopment in its central core. This means that much of the historic fabric for which the city is justly famous has been preserved, with the only significant exception being the considerable amounts of 60s and 70s development along Princes Street. In particular, this means that the development of these areas has not been significantly shaped by the presence of large local malls, as the two small malls in the Princes Street study Region (there are none in the St. Giles Region) are both located on the eastern edge/periphery of Princes Street, rather than being central to the main Princes Street/George St. axes*. This means that we are able to focus more directly on streets themselves, rather than the internalised street of the mall.

A desire to focus on a relatively large urban centre in Scotland meant that we were realistically limited to either Edinburgh or Glasgow. Edinburgh was

*This should not be taken to infer that there has not been significant redevelopment within the city core, although much of the limited amounts of substantial block-level redevelopment have been limited to areas around the old town.

chosen primarily due to its ease of access, the numerous data sources, the possibility of multiple study sites, relatively convenient access to relevant materials and facilities, combined with a degree of familiarity with the study areas. It was also felt to be a more intrinsically interesting study area than was Glasgow.

Limiting the study area to Edinburgh means that it is not possible within the bounds of this study to make wider comparison between different jurisdictions and conurbations. While this may make any attempt to identify any **particularly** local nature of changes difficult, as there will not be a basis of comparison with a control area (for lack of a better term), this is more than offset by the ability to construct a precise and detailed chronology of local change. Developing a wide-scale and detailed comparison between different urban areas was felt in any case to be beyond the scope of this project.

4.1: Data Sources

The types and quality of available historical data both constrain and define what types of analyses can be retroactively performed. In this case, when attempting to study the changing street, it was practical to focus on data sources that could be used to construct a picture of change and the types of change on Edinburgh's streets. As a result, the sources discussed below are overwhelmingly biased towards recent and historical/archival records of building and site change, as it was felt that these provided the best means to reconstruct a picture of the changing city street in Edinburgh. Other, more qualitative methods of data collection were not used as primary data sources as, though they are both important and significant in their own right, they were not felt to be an appropriate basis on which to build the analysis, given that one of the research aims is to develop an understanding of urban change *on the ground.*

4.1.1: Local Directories

The Edinburgh and Leith Postal Directories were initially targeted as a sources of long-term historical data as they were easily accessible (they are available at a number of library sites and can occasionally be purchased from second-hand bookstores), seemed to be relatively complete, and they have the

considerable added advantage that the information they contain is already organised geographically, by street address, which would make the identification of relevant records relatively straight forward.

In practice, however, these records did not provide the utility that was initially anticipated. The Edinburgh version of these Directories has not been produced since 1974, so they cannot provide any data for changes within the last twenty-five years. In addition, the Directories, while listing every owner/occupant of every floor of every building, do not explicitly identify either the ground floor occupant or the *use* of the site. While in some cases it was possible to identify the uses from the context of the entries, this was not generally possible. As a result of this, it was also not possible to gain information on site vacancies or any other related aspects of site change, like renovations or demolitions. While there is a substantial literature on the issues arising from the use of older (i.e. 19th century) versions of city directories (e.g. Shaw and Historical Geography Research Group, 1982), little information is available on the accuracy of their 'modern' incarnation as Post Office Directories. Given these issues, it was felt that the directories would be of limited use as a potential data source.

Thomson Directories, which are effectively the successors to the Post Office Directories, are available for Edinburgh from 1981, when they were introduced on a national level. As the data they contain was not organised geographically (unlike the Post Office Directories), it was felt that they were not an appropriate data source.

4.1.2: Goad Maps

Goad Maps are a series of maps published by Chas. A. Goad for the use of planners and the retail industry. They detail the site level composition (i.e. the occupants and uses) of selected retail areas (including both city centre and out of town developments) for many of the larger metropolitan areas of the United Kingdom. Goad's Edinburgh maps cover four central Regions* within the city: Princes Street, St. Giles (the Royal Mile and south to Newington), Tollcross,

* See Glossary.

Leith (primarily Leith Walk), and Morningside, which is some distance from the city centre. Taken together, these four central Regions cover broadly adjacent segments of the city which represent the majority of the city centre retailing (in the case of the Princes Street and Tollcross Regions, and to a lesser degree the St. Giles Region) and two long radial/retail arteries connecting central Edinburgh to Leith in the north west (the Leith Walk Region) and Marchmont to the south (contained in the southern extent of the St. Giles Region). Copies of these maps are publicly accessible from the National Library of Scotland and the Central Library on George IV Bridge, and copies can also be purchased directly from Goad.

These maps are published approximately annually (though not to a strict schedule), and show plot boundaries, street lines, some basement sites, and their occupants and their uses. These maps are now computer generated by Goad, based upon site boundaries provided by the Ordnance Survey: prior to the early 90s they were hand drawn and lettered. Field surveys show the maps do not provide consistent and complete coverage of first and second storey uses. In most cases occupants are listed together with their usage, so it is theoretically possible to track occupant and usage change over time. The site data also reflect both changes in buildings themselves (inasmuch as site boundaries, buildings and street numbers change) and whether buildings are vacant, under construction, under demolition and so on.

Use of these maps as a primary source has problems, most directly in that we are limited to the geographic areas chosen by Goad: in the case of the St. Giles maps this means ignoring several interesting study areas, namely Victoria St. and the Grassmarket, while the Princes St. maps provide incomplete information for George St.. In addition, the maps have not been updated at regular intervals: for instance neither the St. Giles nor the Princes Street maps were updated in either 1986 or 1988, but both were done twice in 1987 and 1989. As is the case with the Postal Directories, the actual survey dates of the maps are also not made public, so it is not possible tell whether the maps are an accurate reflection of street use on a particular day or represent an aggregated data set collected over a longer period of time. This makes an analysis of change over regular time periods

somewhat more difficult due to the degree of opacity inherent in using material which does not include specific published details on its collection methodology.

There is very little published information in the literature on the use of any of Goad's data. Rowley (1984; 1985) provides the few references to this data source in the recent geographic literature, but his paper (and the subsequent discussion on its contents and conclusions in *Area*) focuses on Goad's out of town shopping centre material. David McRobert Brooks' unpublished Ph.D. thesis (1988) provides the only other use of Goad's urban data that I have been able to find to date. As a result, there is little scope to comment on the relative completeness or comparative accuracy of the data source itself. This is perhaps surprising, given the considerable literature in North America on the use of Fire Insurance Maps as historical resources (Keister, 1993).

4.1.3: Building Records

There is a long tradition within urban geography of using building records to understand urban change, usually through the urban morphology school. (For a detailed history of this school of geographical thought, see Whitehand (1981).) With perhaps the obvious exception of J. R. Whitehand (1978; 1981; 1992), this method of analysis is becoming less common in the literature. While it is possible to uncover substantial amounts of information by using these records, they do tell us little about how buildings are actually *used* after they are constructed, and to rely upon them as a primary source arguably infers that the role buildings play in their landscapes are fixed upon construction and do not change over time and in response to their evolving uses.

Two Ph.D. dissertations (Rideout, 1993; Lees, 1994) have attempted to use planning and property records as data sources, and while both found them to be technically available (in that there was no legal impediment to accessing the data), in practical and financial terms the data was inaccessible in the volumes the authors desired. Given that it was felt that the use of these records would not provide the most direct route to understanding many of the processes that were of interest, it was decided that they would be of limited use.

4.1.4: Tax Records

Copies of both commercial and residential tax records for the City of Edinburgh are available from the local council and through the public library system. These records are collected annually, but before the early 1980s commercial and residential uses were combined within the same dataset, which makes the separation of the relevant ground-floor occupants difficult. These records tell us who legally occupies a site (which may be different from the name the site trades under, a crucial point when trying to match this data with that provided by the Goad maps), who owns the site, and provides a contact address for all parties.

4.1.5: Register of Sasines

The Register of Sasines contains the official Scottish register of title deeds, which is open to public inspection. The data held by the Register is held on a plot by plot basis, and is currently in the midst of a long-term computerised transition to a mappable database known as the Scottish Land Information Service (ScotLIS), which will eventually be able to provide regional and local maps showing property ownership information. Due to the problems inherent in merging different databases accurately (see Chapter 4.1.7: Source Selection) it was decided not to use the Register as an additional data source.

4.1.6: Ground Surveys

There are several ground surveys of Edinburgh showing occupancy and use data, mostly provided for the Council as part of studies of parts of the central city, but they neither cover large relevant portions of the city nor are particularly frequent.

4.1.7: Source Selection

There were essentially two sets of data which could be used as primary data sources to construct some form of understanding of how the street is changing in Edinburgh: tax records and Goad maps. As the two data sources were compiled for radically different reasons, we might expect that they would place different emphases upon the data they present. The tax records provide a complete view

of who owns and/or occupies every different site/business in the city, while the Goad data represents only data for street-level occupants and uses. The tax data is more detailed and far more complete in its coverage, but does not tell us some crucial information, particularly the name under which site occupiers are trading. This data is central to the Goad maps, but they, in turn, do not tell us who owns the property or which company (if any) occupies it. Thus there were trade-offs in using either as data sources.

When attempts were made to gain access to the tax records from the City of Edinburgh Council it eventually became apparent that access to the records would not be easy and working with them not unproblematic. One year's worth of data was collected by hand from publicly available library records and compiled into a database. During data entry it became clear that both the names and contact addresses for owners, agents and tenants were often wildly inconsistent throughout the data set, making it difficult to accurately compile a comprehensive list of the holdings of landowners and the occupancy patterns of individual tenants. This meant that it might be very difficult to develop comprehensive and consistent databases of owners, occupants and uses.

Comparisons of the results with contemporary Goad maps indicated the additional problem that there were not only numerous discrepancies between the street addresses of the tax records and those used by the Goad maps, but also between the definitions of properties and their uses by each data source. In many of these cases the tax records shows subdivisions of buildings which are not represented on the Goad maps, and as expected they also listed numerous non-street level uses not included by Goad.

Attempts to acquire electronic copies of portions of this data from the council were initially positively received but were eventually unsuccessful. While it was possible to continue to access microfiche copies of the records from the public library and input the data manually, it was quickly realised during the entry of the sample year's data that this would be an exceptionally long and tedious process if a data set comparable to that provided by Goad was to be collected. Given the recognition that it would be time-consuming to manually transcribe the tax data, that the quality of information it contained was often variable, and

that it would be difficult to work with and correlate with the other possible data source, it was recognised that the Goad maps, with their spatially organised data and their fixed geographical boundaries, would be by some degree the most suitable and effective data source to use.

4.2: Identifying Study Sites

4.2.1: Potential study areas.

Having decided upon a data source, it was still necessary to make decisions about which of the available data sets would/could be used. The Goad maps of Edinburgh provide a choice of four large Regions of the central city: Princes Street, St. Giles (The Royal Mile and south to Newington), Tollcross, and Leith (comprised primarily of Leith Walk and its immediate surroundings), and a more recent series of maps covering Morningside. While there is no doubt that the wider the area of study, the broader/more accurate the generalisations and eventual analysis, there also comes a point at which the sheer volume of potential data creates its own sets of problems. Given that there were four possible primary study Regions, and 17 years worth of pseudo-annual data for each, it became clear that there were essentially two approaches: either use annual data for a limited number of study Regions or broaden the geographical scope of the thesis and study all major potential study Regions but in somewhat less depth, by using data from every second or third year (etc.), an approach that had already been tried using some of Goad's London data (Brooks, 1988).

It was felt that data collected annually would provide the best opportunity to create the most accurate description of change from the available information. Given the constraints imposed by the sheer volume of information implied by using all of the potential study Regions, it was decided that the best way forward would be to limit the number of potential study Regions to two and to collect the data from each annually.

4.2.2: Choosing the St. Giles and Princes St. Regions.

As a result, it was decided to focus on two primary study Regions: the St. Giles and the Princes Street Regions. These Regions were chosen for specific

reasons, and with specific questions/analyses in mind. Given that the literature has identified numerous specific trends in urban change, including increasing consumerism (Zukin, 1992; Urry, 1995; Zukin, 1995); the manufacturing of place and space (Whyte, 1988; Richards, 1994; Francaviglia, 1996); the role of restructuring (Harvey, 1987; Harvey, 1989; Jameson, 1991; Massey, 1994); the development of the tourist-historical city (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990; Warren, 1994; De Oliver, 1996; Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996; Hannigan, 1998); and the retail revolution (Dawson, 1988; Ducatel and Blomley, 1990), it was important to choose study regions that allowed for the exploration of the fundamental ideas underpinning these analyses.

Princes Street was chosen as it represents a confluence of a number of relevant themes: particularly the retail revolution and the modernist/post-modernist analysis of urban change. This 1.2 km long strip has traditionally been recognised as Edinburgh's retail and commercial core, and as such it would be expected to reflect the changes seen elsewhere in the United Kingdom: with the considerable levels of post-war site redevelopment it provides a fertile ground for analysis. The Region contains the actual shopping 'High Street' in Edinburgh (in contrast to the more tourist and leisure orientation of the 'real' (or more 'literal') High Street in the St. Giles study Region) and as such provides a central focus for analyses of change within the prototypical retail 'High Street', while also containing considerable heritage and tourist interest.

The St. Giles Region represents a quantitatively different perspective on many of the same issues. Its place in the retail structure of Edinburgh has been re-defined markedly in the last twenty years with the closure of several department stores, but the role it plays in the local economy, and iconography is, like Princes Street, central to what one might call the Edinburgh experience. Arguably this study Region contains two neighbourhoods: that of the Royal Mile and its environs, and the more local shopping streets running south. The Royal Mile/High Street axis, running from Edinburgh Castle to the Palace of Holyrood, provides the core of the local heritage tourist trade. The St. Giles study Region contains all of the built-up commercial development along this strip, which runs for 0.6km in an roughly East-West direction. In addition, the

southern parts of the study Region contain a significant amount of street retailing that supports local neighbourhood shopping, in contrast to the more nodal/hierarchical role of Princes Street.

Both Regions are now part of a changing Edinburgh, focused on consumption and the tourist experience. Both have been the focus of attempts to develop them in particular ways that have become typical: both have a systematically developed sense of place and identity, and have a focus on tourism and a more transient, space/place-centred consumption with associated leisure activities. They also offer the potential to discern different perspectives on more 'local' consumption practices, with the potential for comparison and contrast between the more 'nodal' Princes Street Region and the 'local' portions of the St. Giles Region.

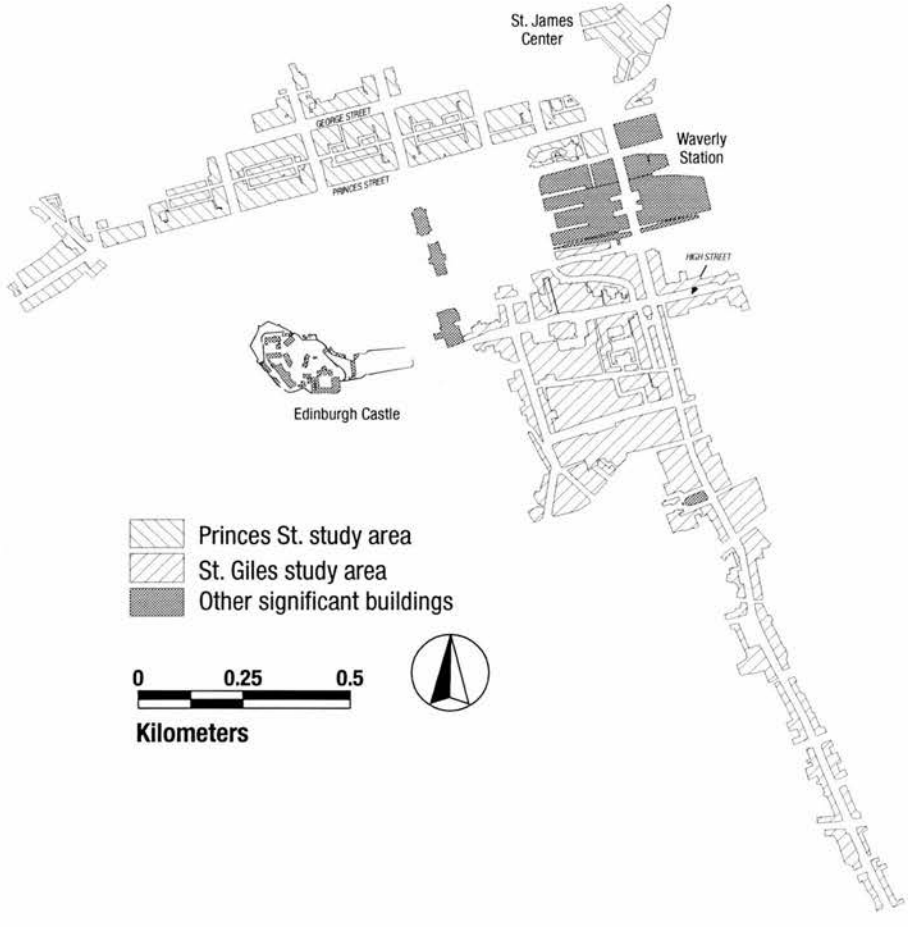


Figure 4.1: Central Edinburgh showing the two study Regions

4.2.3: The Survey Period

Prior to 1978 the Goad maps for central Edinburgh (i.e. the Princes Street,

St. Giles, Leith Walk and Tollcross) were produced approximately every other year: from then on, approximately annually. This change in publishing frequency represented a convenient starting point for data collection, and material from every map for the Princes Street and St. Giles study Regions published from 1978 to 1994 inclusive (17 years in all) was collated into two sets of databases, one for each study Region. As can be seen from Table 4.1, there is a month's difference in the dates of four of the seventeen Goad surveys for the two sites. For consistency, the survey date of each Princes St. map is referred to by the date of the contemporary St. Giles map for the four cases where the two are not identical, as the St. Giles data was the first of the two data sets to be transcribed.

St. Giles Region		Princes St. Region	
January 1978	September 1987	**February 1978**	September 1987
July 1979	January 1989	July 1979	January 1989
July 1980	November 1989	July 1980	November 1989
October 1981	November 1990	**November 1981**	November 1990
October 1982	November 1991	**November 1982**	November 1991
November 1983	November 1992	November 1983	November 1992
November 1984	November 1993	November 1984	November 1993
December 1985	November 1994	**November 1985**	November 1994
January 1987		January 1987	

Table 4.1: Goad Map survey dates 1978-94

4.3: Data Collection and Input

4.3.1: Data Input

Copies of the Goad maps from 1978 onwards were ordered directly from Goad, who provided copies of the maps for 1978-90 and 1993. Of all the maps that Goad provided, only the 1993 maps were original Goad maps: Goad did not provide direct or original copies of the other maps, instead supplying what appear to be copies of some form of archived materials. These maps were not direct copies of the originals, but were supplied as 51 mimeograph sheets (24 for the Princes Street maps and 27 for the St. Giles maps) copied by the British Library from what appear to be microfilmed originals. As a result the individual maps were spread over one, two or three unmatched sheets in what turned out to be a haphazard variety of scales and perspectives, and these had to be

painstakingly collated. These maps were often of poor (and in some parts very poor) reproduction quality, and many suffered from considerable and irregular amounts of optical distortion. Some sections of some maps were not legible, and original copies in either the National Library of Scotland or the Edinburgh Room of the Central Library had to be repeatedly consulted as alternative sources for the missing data. Data for 1991-2 and 1994 were collected from copies of maps held in the Edinburgh Room.

The process of transcribing the information on the Goad maps was completed in two stages: the first was the transcription of basic site information for each year (site boundaries, street numbers etc.), followed by the transcription of the occupant and use data for each site. This process was then repeated until all the data had been transcribed.

The two original copies of maps provided by Goad, the 1993 maps for the St. Giles and Princes Street study Regions, were digitised into the MapInfo GIS program as the two base maps, as they did not suffer from optical distortion and were by some degree the most legible of the acquired sources. After all the buildings in each map bad been digitised, the basic site data (street names and numbers) was then added. These maps were then used as a basis for entering the site information for the other 16 years' worth of data, with the help of a customised MapBasic application. Background information on the applications used and a technological overview is contained in Appendix 1, while the transcription process of this cartographic data itself is explained in much greater detail in Appendix 2.

Given that the internal database within MapInfo was not sophisticated enough to allow the construction of an appropriate interface to facilitate the entry of the occupant and user information, two programs were written to allow MapInfo to communicate with a FileMaker database and the occupant and use data for each site was then entered on a year by year basis. Specific details of the techniques used in entering this data are explained in detail in Appendix 3, while a more technical explanation of the programs that were developed is explained in Appendix 4.

4.3.2: Data Verification

During the transcription of the Goad data, two main data-entry issues became apparent: the first was the need to accurately link occupant and use information in the maps to the correct records in the database, and second was the need to accurately and consistently enter the data for each site.

Given that the data within the source material contained data organised visually (rather than in tables etc.), it was felt that some sort of visual/graphical input system would be appropriate to minimise input error and minimise any possible confusion in site identification. To this end, it was decided to transcribe the data into a GIS system, where the correct site could first be selected through a graphical interface/screen in a GIS system (by visual comparison with the addresses and site outlines in the printed material) before the actual site data entry would begin. This minimised the potential of site misidentification, which was felt to represent the primary opportunity for any significant data-misattribution.

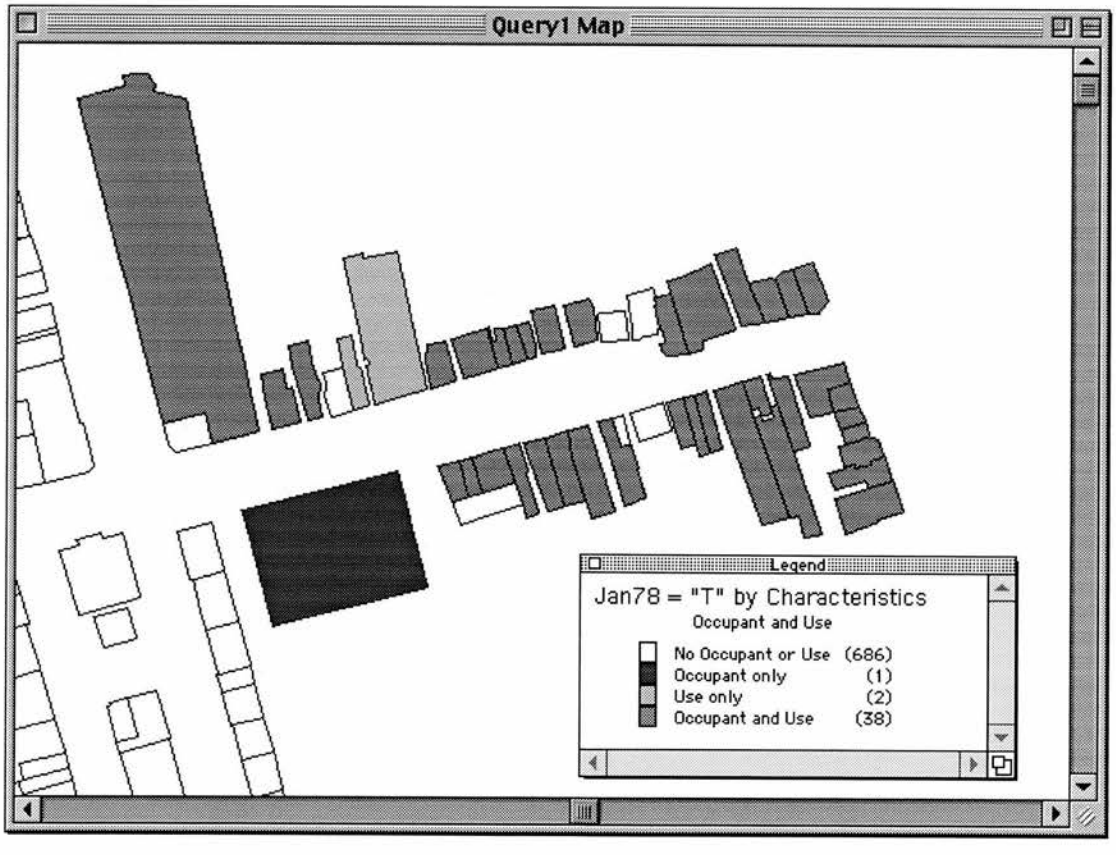


Figure 4.2: MapInfo Map window

It was also recognised at the beginning of the data collection process that while the GIS system allowed the accurate identification of sites by organising selection within the mapping interface (Figure 4.2), that the limited capabilities of the actual database within the MapInfo GIS program posed two problems: firstly, there were no error-checking or verification capabilities within the database that could be used to monitor and validate data entry, and secondly, that there were considerable opportunities for input error while manipulating information from within the table-style MapInfo database (illustrated in Figure 4.3), as the database itself provided little visual indication of which of a thousand possible records is actually being edited, allowing considerable potential confusion during the data-entry process.

new_rm_5 Browser

Item	Number	Street	Jan78	Jul79	Jul80	Oct81	Oct82	Nov83	Nov84	Dec85
1	2	South Clerk St.	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
2	8	South Clerk St.	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
3	10	South Clerk St.	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
4		Hope Park Terr.	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
5	Queen's Hall	South Clerk St.	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
6	4	South Clerk St.	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
7	11	South Clerk St.	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
8	13	South Clerk St.	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
9	15	South Clerk St.	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
10	17-19	South Clerk St.	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
11	21	South Clerk St.	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
12	23	South Clerk St.	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T

Figure 4.3: MapInfo Database ('Browser') Window

While it was possible to create a data-entry template of sorts by custom-writing an interface to the database, it was felt that the more straightforward solution was to enter the data directly into a stand-alone database, which could be programmed to provide the necessary validation and error-checking, (see Figure 4.4) while allowing the maximum flexibility.

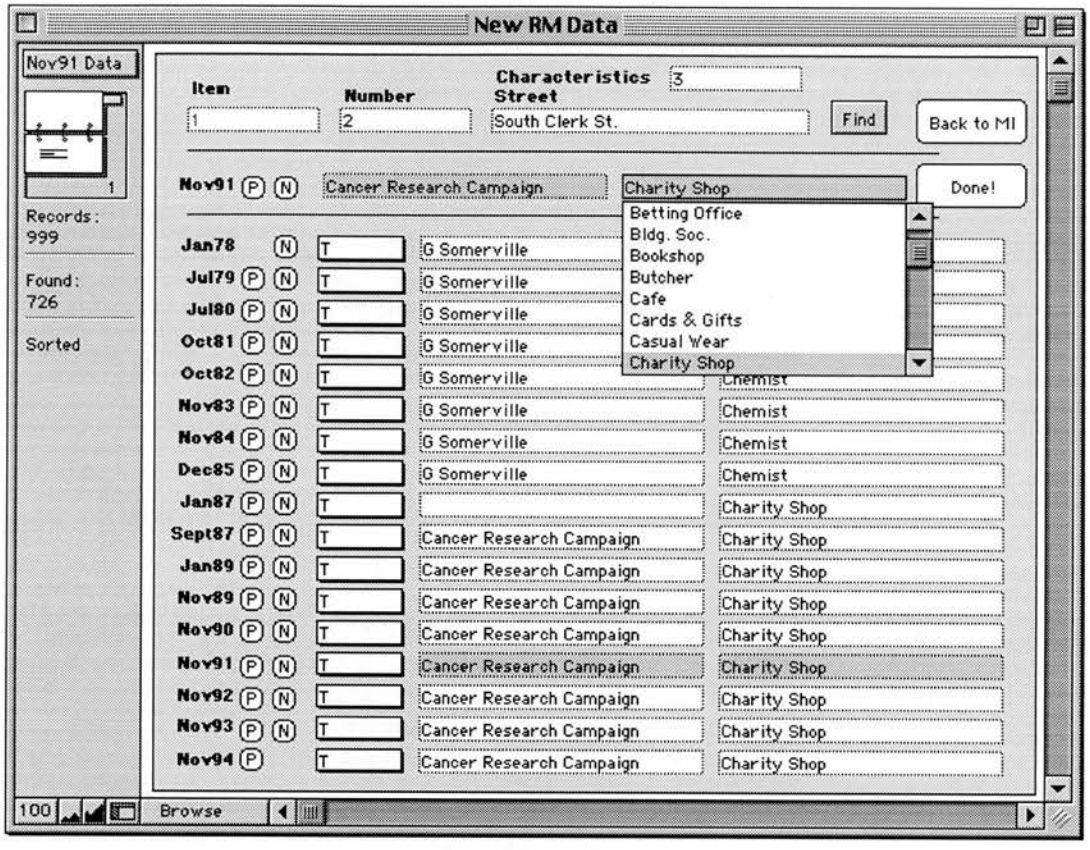


Figure 4.4: FileMaker window

As the intention was to transfer the data to a stand-alone FileMaker database for processing and classification after data-entry was complete, this seemed to be the most straightforward approach.

As a result of this, to deal with these concerns about data integrity and input, a solution was developed where sites were initially selected for data entry within the MapInfo GIS program, the correct record was automatically selected in the FileMaker database, and then data entry was performed directly into the database program. As the GIS and FileMaker programs were not explicitly designed to be used together, it was necessary to write several additional software programs to allow them to communicate between each other.

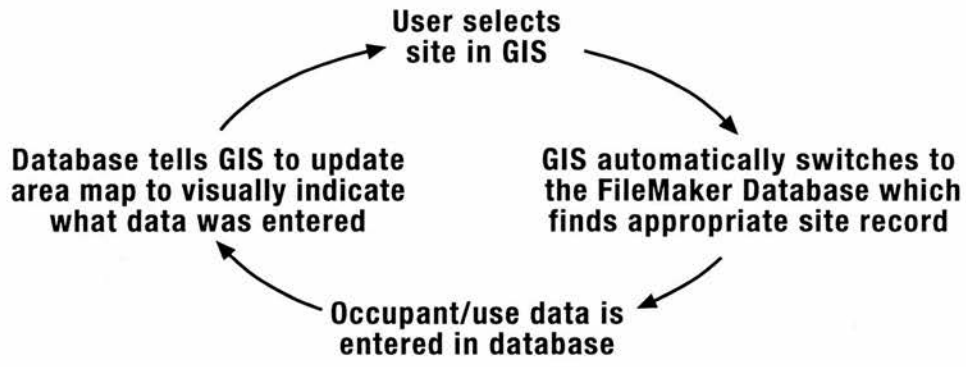


Figure 4.5: Summary of occupant and use data entry process

The result of this development process is summarised in Figure 4.5. When the user selected a site in the GIS, the database was then instructed to select the appropriate record for the selected site, and after data entry was completed and verified, the GIS map was updated to show that data had been entered in the database for that site by colouring the site to indicate what data was now associated with it in the database. (Appendix 3 contains an extended discussion of this data-entry process.)

To minimise inaccuracies in entering site data, the layouts of the database were designed both to highlight the data for the current data-entry year, and to show all of the data that had been entered for the site (for every year) so the user could compare the data that was being entered with existing data for the surrounding years.

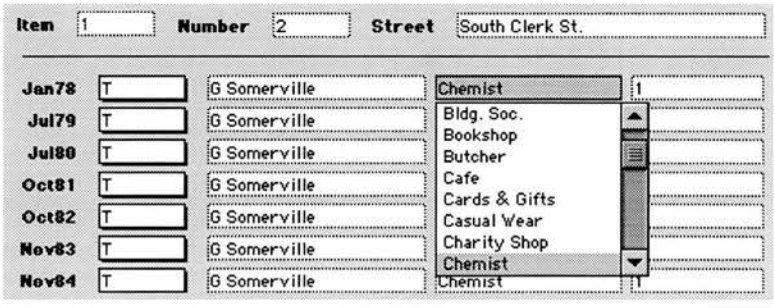


Figure 4.6: Ensuring consistent data entry in FileMaker with value lists

In addition, to facilitate the consistent entry of site use data, the data-entry mechanisms within the database were designed so that the user could chose to either enter the use data directly into the appropriate data field, or to select a site use directly from a pre-defined list of the 68 most common site uses. This allowed some degree of automation of the data-entry process and maximised

consistency in data entry and classification. The entry options used are listed in Appendix 6.

The particular GIS/database system that was eventually developed and implemented was designed to ensure accuracy in targeting buildings for data entry and to facilitate fairly rapid and consistent data entry, and in this it was found to be highly successful.

4.3.3: Data quality

Ideally, we would like our source data to be accurate, and frequently collected. In practical terms it is difficult to determine how accurate historical records actually are, especially given the lack of literature on the Goad records. While they appear to be accurate, and data entry reveals a remarkable internal consistency, there is still no mechanism, short of contemporaneous ground surveys, to check their accuracy. No attempts were made to corroborate the Goad data via a ground survey, as it was felt that this would be of minimal use in attempting to verify information that was almost two decades old. Observation did reveal however that basement and first floor usage was not consistently collected for all sites.

Some problems were encountered while using the Goad maps, although none of them were un-resolvable. The primary concern revolved around the very poor quality of many of the maps as supplied by the British Library for Goad, which meant that it was often necessary to check large amounts of information with original copies held elsewhere as the supplied copies were often either heavily smudged or otherwise illegible. In addition, severe optical distortion introduced during the copying process made the use of a number of the maps as digitising sources impossible. Data entry was also compromised to a degree by Goad's failure to use a standardised and consistent list of abbreviations for the different site uses.

4.4: Data Preparation

After data entry was complete, the initial data files were moved into a relational database and the database restructured. Records were copied to a

relational database in which every record held one year's site information (instead of each site's 17 year history contained in one record) to facilitate the classification and analysis of the occupant and use data.

4.4.1: Occupant Identification

These new files were then checked to ensure that data entry had been consistent. The occupant records were then processed to give each site use a unique ID number (i.e. an occupant number). Sites which were vacant, under construction/alteration etc. were given a generic ID number. In an attempt to reduce the impact upon the database of occupant changes due to acquisitions, restructuring, mergers and so on, every case of occupant change was checked to see whether this change in the name of the occupant could be linked to some form of restructuring (for example when the Leicester Building Society became the Alliance and Leicester Building Society), and if so the database was adjusted to show this as not representing any change in site occupancy.

4.4.2: Use Classification

It was realised during data-entry that many of Goad's usage classifications were somewhat arbitrary and often somewhat over-specific, resulting in classifications that were somewhat inaccurate or misleading (e.g. unisex hairdressers were often described as ladies hairdressers, clothing stores that catered mainly but not exclusively to women were classified as selling ladies wear only), and in many cases numerous classifications overlapped (e.g. pubs, taverns and bars). It was thus decided to develop a second, more abstracted usage description system that attempted to subsume many of the subjective use allocations within Goad's data*. During data entry, some similar use categories had already been somewhat rationalised: for example L & M/WR (Ladies and Men's wear) and M & L/WR (Men's and Ladies wear) were both entered as L & M/WR. This re-classification simplified uses throughout the database.

* In the cases where Goad supplied multiple uses for a site, the first was used in the re-classification.

The result was the reduction of Goad's 742 uses* (covering both study Regions and all years) into 90 broader use categories. The impact of this re-classification is summarised in Table 4.2: the condensed list of uses used for the subsequent analyses are listed in Table 4.3.

Number of sites with each use	Goad Use classification	Condensed Use Classification
1	160	22
2 to 5	57	22
5 to 10	19	17
10 to 20	7	10
20 to 50	3	8
50 +	1	2
Total number of uses:	247	81

Table 4.2: Distribution of the number of St. Giles sites for a given use in the January 1978 dataset

It is clear from Table 4.2 that if we use Goad's use data classifications, we must work with a dataset that has a preponderance of uses that exist only on a single site in the whole of the study Region: in 1978 for the St. Giles Region these uses accounted for almost 65% of all of the reported uses in the Region. In comparison, the application of the condensed use classification (CUC) produces a substantially different profile of site counts: here only 27% of all sites were represented by single sites. This pattern is consistent throughout the re-distribution, with the reduction in numbers of uses having the effect of generating significantly larger numbers of uses with more than 5 sites. In this example year, the Goad data show only 12% of all uses occupy more than five sites, whereas in the CUC classification almost 46% of all the uses have 5 or more occurrences. In real terms, while the CUC classification reduces the overall number of distinct site uses by two thirds, the actual number of uses with 5 or more sites has actually increased, from 30 in the Goad use classification to 37.

In practice, this classification system meant that all pubs, bars and taverns (and so on) were classified as public houses, while all of the numerous variations

* As a result of the earlier use simplification, the count of 742 different uses within the database is lower than the actual number of distinct uses in the Goad maps.

of clothing-related stores were described simply as 'clothing', and so on*. The two broad categories of 'Clothing' and 'Home Furnishings & Household Goods' by themselves originally contained some 179 of Goad's original definitions, representing 24% of all the reported uses. The aggregation of Goad's clothing-related use classifications is detailed in Table 4.4.

Abstracted site uses (also referred to as the 'Condensed Usage List')		
Amusement Arcade	Dwelling	Off Licence
Ancillary building - warehouse, loading dock etc.	Electronics/Appliances	Office Services
Antiques	Estate Agent	Offices
Artists materials	Film Developing	Optician
Audio Hi-Fi TV etc.	Financial Services	Outdoor & Sports Goods
Baker	Florist	P. H.
Bank	Food store	Pet Supplies
Betting Office	Foot WR	Post Office
Bingo Hall	Foot/WR Repair	Professional Services
Books etc.	Gallery	Record Store
Building Society	General Goods	Restaurant
C.T.N.	Gifts	Showroom
Cameras	Hair Care, Styling & Beauty	Solicitor etc.
Car Accessories, showrooms etc.	Hardware	Stationery
Car Park	Hall	Takeaway food
Cards	Home Furnishings	Theatre/cinema
Charity Shop	Hotel etc.	Tourist Services
Chemist	Institutional/Social Services	Toys
Church etc.	Jeweller	Travel Agent
Clothing	Knitwear & Tartans	Under Alteration
Commercial Services	Launderette	Under Construction
Computing etc.	Leather Goods	Under Demolition
Crafts	Medical services	Under Reconstruction
Demolished	Misc. Goods	University use
Department Store	Museum	Vacant
Derelict	Musical Instruments	Video Rental etc.
Dry Cleaning, Launderette etc.	Newsagent	Other.

Table 4.3: Rationalised Goad Usage list

This level of abstraction was felt to be useful in laying the groundwork for later attempts to generate broader indexes of site change as more subjective changes in classification and of usage by site occupants would effectively be

* All categories that included 'WR' as an descriptor, with the exception of footwear, were classified as clothing.

removed from the database.

Goad clothing categories		
Army Surplus	Haber.	Leather Wear
Bridal WR & Dress Hire	Haberdashery	Leather WR
Bridal/WR	Hosiery	Lingerie
C & L/WR	Jeans	LM/WR
C/WR	Knitwear	LM/WR & FT/WR
C/WR & Restaurant	L & C/WR	M & C/WR
C/WR & Soft Toys	L & M & C/WR	M & L/WR
Career WR & Uniforms	L & M/WR	M/L/WR
Casual Wear	L & M/WR & Foot WR	M/Underwear & Accessories
Clo	L & M/WR & Knit/WR	M/WR
Clo. & Fancy Gifts	L/Sep	M/WR & Leather WR
Clothes	L/Tailor	Millinery
Clothes Hire	L/WP	Nurs. & C/WR & Prams
Clothes, Toil, Ho/Goods	L/WR	Nylons
Clothing	L/WR & Bridal WR	Rain/WR
Clothing & Gifts	L/WR & Bridal/WR	Scout Shop
Dance/WR	L/WR & C/WR	Sheepskin & Leath/WR
Fab.	L/WR & Fabric	Shirts
Fabric	L/WR & Fabrics	Sweat shirt printing
Fabric/Sewing Machines	L/WR & Fancy Goods	T Shirt Print
Fabrics	L/WR & Tartans	Thermal WR
Fabrics & L/WR	L/WR/Gifts	Ties
Furs	Lea. WR	Ties & Scarves
General Outfitter	Leath/WR	Workwear

Table 4.4: 72 Goad Categories condensed into 'Clothing'

4.4.3: Frontage and Site-area data

Frontage data for each site was calculated by first identifying the sides of each site which faced along the main street, and then calculating their length in the GIS program. This provides as fair a representation of the street level frontage for each site as can be calculated.

The values calculated for each site's area are, however, somewhat more ephemeral. As there is no distinction made in the Goad material regarding the uses *within* each site (i.e. what is floor space, warehouse space, unused/unusable space and so on) the area calculations more closely represent the physical size of each site. In addition, the accuracy of this data is to a degree affected by the inevitable errors that arise during the digitising process, by some inaccuracies in the Goad data, for example where upper or basement floors are not included in

the original dataset, and from inaccuracies introduced by the need to add sites that did not appear on the digitised 1993 Goad maps by hand. It was not possible to either correct or compensate for these errors, but it was empirically determined during subsequent analyses that calculations of rates of change based upon the site-area of changed sites, the street frontage of changed sites, or the numbers of changed sites with the appropriate data for unchanged sites revealed almost identical results. As a result, all further analyses calculated change (etc.) only in terms of percentages of sites.

4.4.4: Creation of smaller scale (Area*) units for analysis

In order to allow for a more local analysis of changes than was possible with analyses based upon the two study Regions, it was felt that the two study Regions should be subdivided into a number of smaller geographical units. Sites were initially divided up according to what street blocks each was in, with each block representing the sites on one side of a street between two side streets.

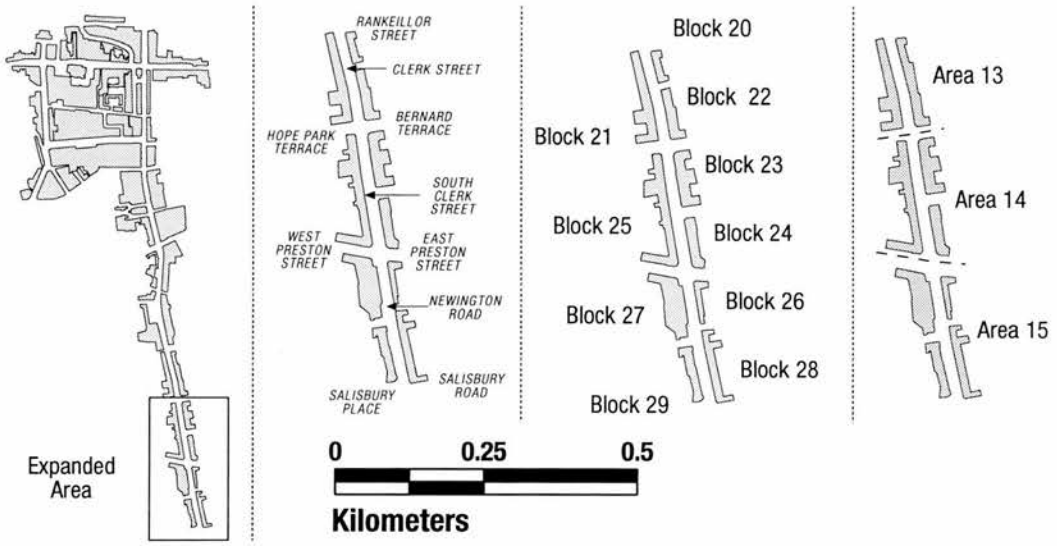


Figure 4.7: Example Area and Block classifications, St. Giles

It was recognised that this division method produced a classification that was substantially flawed, as there were both large variations in the number of sites contained within each block (ranging from 8 to 40), and between the overall number of blocks across the two study Regions (22 in the Princes St. study

Region, versus 49 within the St. Giles study Region). It was felt that as a result of this that working at individual block level was both too fine a scale to avoid the possibility of substantial changes in the composition of individual blocks resulting from the changing of relatively small (in real terms) number of sites, and simultaneously unwieldy, due to the large numbers of bocks across the two Regions.

In an effort to resolve these issues, larger (Area) units were created, typically representing agglomerations of neighbouring blocks in contiguous street Areas, often spanning both sides of the road. It was found that with some judicious allocations it was possible both to define a series of neighbourhood Areas that were roughly the same size and contained broadly similar numbers of sites. The differences between this classification and the block-level classification is summarised in Table 4.5.

Count of sites	Block- based classification	Area-based Classification
50 +	0	6
40 to 50	0	4
30 to 40	2	5
20 to 30	10	1
10 to 20	25	0
1 to 10	13	0
Total:	50	16

Table 4.5: Effect of different site agglomerations in the St. Giles Region, 1978

Division of the Region's sites into block areas has the effect of creating a substantial number of blocks with small or very small numbers of sites: in this example 76% are of less than 20 sites per block. By comparison, the grouping into larger Areas has resulted in only one Area containing less than 30 sites. With a number of the St. Giles Areas containing over 40 sites, it is clear that this form of site grouping ensures a more robust basis for any analysis of change or composition.

Details of the actual variations within each of these Areas is given in Table 4.6 and Table 4.7, while textual descriptions of the boundaries of each Area is given

* See Glossary.

in Appendix 5.

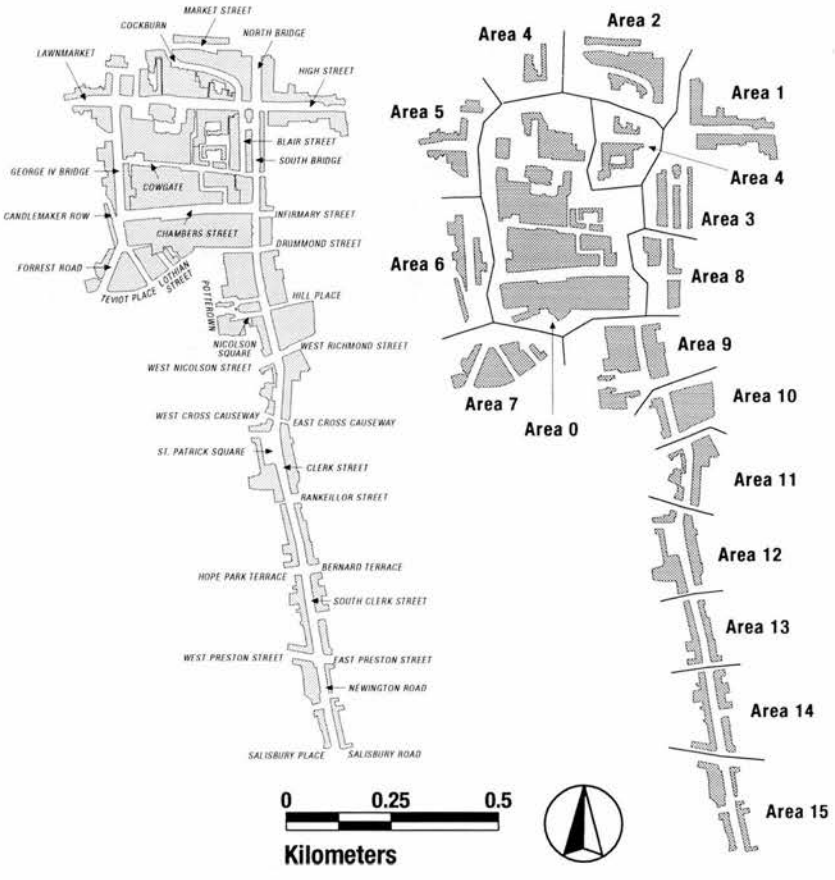


Figure 4.8: St. Giles Areas

Figure 4.8 shows the Area classifications of the St. Giles Region. In the majority of cases, the sites that were grouped together into Areas were along both sides of one or more streets. The only exception to this is Area 0. Given the significant geographic concentration of institutional sites within the centre of the St. Giles Region, in an area bounded by Market Street in the north, Potterow in the south, George IV Bridge on the west and Blair Street to the east, it was decided to group all of these buildings (and all their adjacent sites), which included the City Chambers (of the City of Edinburgh), the National Library of Scotland, the National Museum of Scotland, St. Giles Kirk, the Parliament buildings, numerous courts, municipal buildings and services, and several university buildings, including Old College and the Department of Architecture, into one single contiguous Area spanning the Royal Mile, the Cowgate, and Chambers Street.

Area	Site Count			Total Frontage (m)			Total Area (m^2)		
	Min/Max/Variation			Min/Max/Variation			Min/Max/Variation		
0	45	50	5	1,898	1,968	70	71,477	72,534	1,057
1	48	65	17	511	570	60	9,727	10,196	469
2	65	73	8	829	843	14	11,846	11,846	0
3	34	39	5	426	438	12	6,059	6,445	386
4	36	44	8	257	257	0	7,126	7,576	449
5	31	34	3	374	382	8	5,992	6,097	105
6	34	37	3	389	391	2	5,646	5,646	0
7	54	59	5	574	611	37	9,484	10,191	707
8	19	29	10	291	328	37	5,067	5,256	189
9	52	62	10	659	693	34	12,891	13,932	1,041
10	26	34	8	299	450	151	7,223	8,702	1,479
11	29	43	14	333	389	56	5,506	7,639	2,132
12	51	57	6	465	479	14	9,453	9,915	462
13	46	49	3	339	355	17	4,520	4,709	189
14	49	57	8	452	454	3	7,217	7,753	536
15	59	63	4	539	545	6	7,425	7,467	42

Table 4.6: Year to year variations within the St. Giles Areas, 1978-94

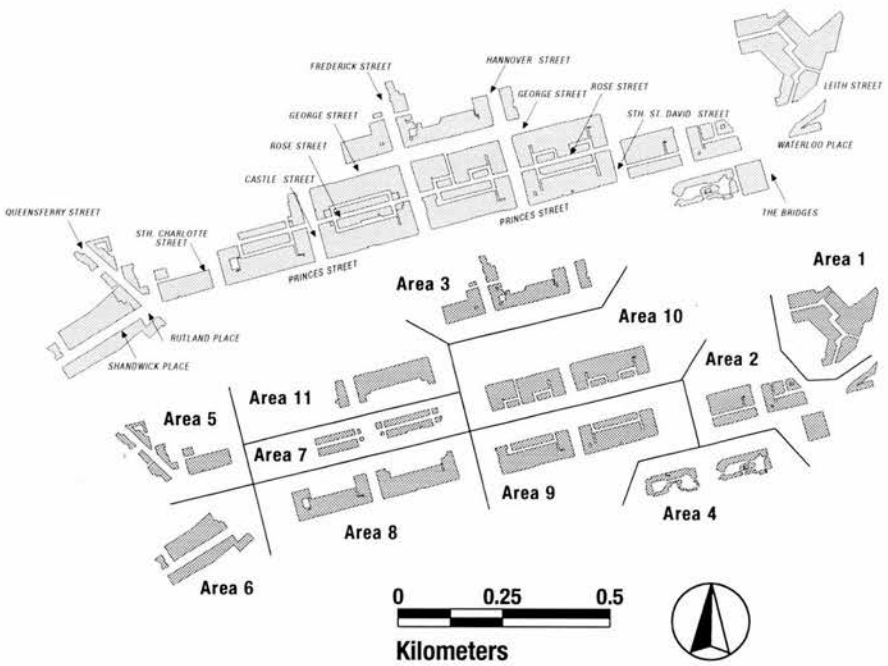


Figure 4.9: Princes Street Areas

Area	Site Count			Total Frontage (m)			Total Area (m^2)		
	Min/Max/Variation			Min/Max/Variation			Min/Max/Variation		
1	57	63	6	712	715	3	17,114	17,220	105
2	61	77	16	842	928	86	14,047	17,141	3,094
3	60	64	4	696	696	0	15,570	15,570	0
4	61	64	3	615	624	9	6,910	6,935	26
5	17	55	38	305	611	306	5,196	9,096	3,900
6	39	48	9	403	462	58	11,910	12,515	605
7	77	85	8	500	516	16	6,949	7,161	212
8	60	72	12	719	785	66	17,515	18,538	1,024
9	61	65	4	889	892	3	20,364	20,364	0
10	56	60	4	791	795	4	19,724	19,770	46
11	34	39	5	448	464	16	9,971	10,166	195

Table 4.7: Year to year variations between the Princes Street Areas, 1978-94

Table 4.7 details the site data for the eleven Areas of the Princes Street Region. The expansion of the Goad dataset in 1984 is responsible for the significant variations in site numbers in Area 5, which contained the majority of the new sites, although there were also additions to Area 6. 1984 also marks the addition of Area 4 (The Waverly Centre) after its construction.

4.5: Analysing the Street

There are many approaches that can be taken in an attempt to understand both how the street is changing and, perhaps more importantly, what it *is*. Essentially, they can be broken down into two basic approaches: asking particular questions about how the street has changed in specific ways (e.g. has the number of leisure/recreational sites increased) and attempts to construct broader and more abstracted forms of analysis of the changing street, for example whether there is evidence to show increasing numbers of chains/multiples and whether this change is limited to one broad sector (e.g. retailing) or is evident across the wider range of site uses (e.g. retailing, services and leisure uses) and whether this has a particular geographic concentration.

Arguably, any attempt to analyse change will be arbitrary be to some degree: many of the indicators of change are by necessity inter-linked — i.e. for leisure uses to increase, other uses must change in response. Because of this, it is difficult (if not a logical impossibility) to simultaneously discuss change in detail while simultaneously analysing the broader patterns of change. The result of this

is, of course, the recognition that the street is an unruly and recalcitrant subject, and that analysis at any level invariably calls for a counter-point from a different perspective, a different scale, to contextualise the discussions. This is particularly important if, as we would expect, different questions and different scales provide contradictory evidence.

The logical approach therefore would perhaps be to ask a series of specific questions about how the street has changed to provide a theoretical foundation before proceeding to the more general questions about the nature of the street and how it has changed. Following this approach, we can analyse a series of specific issues before attempting any wider synthesis of the results as a whole.

4.5.1: Streets of Change

That streets change is both obvious and inevitable. However, defining change is perhaps less straightforward. This section will analyse the general nature of change and will focus on three basic forms of change: the changing street landscape, changing site occupants, and changing site uses. Subsequent sections will focus on more specific types of change, e.g. the growth of leisure, and the changing roles of chains and multiples.

The Changing Landscape of the Street

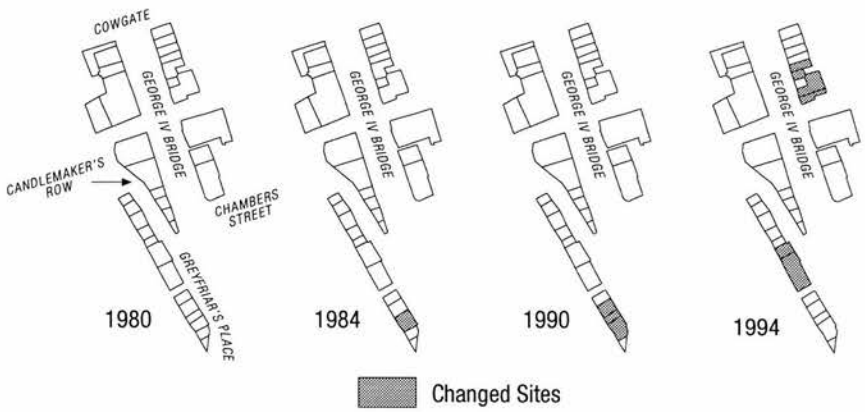


Figure 4.10: Example of long-term site change, St. Giles

Changes in the built landscape were based upon an analysis of specific

references in the Goad data to site-level redevelopment*. The results are essentially comprised of the aggregation of all the site-change data that was specifically identified by Goad. Figure 4.10 provides an example of explicit site change within a section of the data for Area 6 of the St. Giles Region.

Changing Site Occupants

Analysis of the changing occupants in the study Areas relied upon the Condensed Use Classification of Goad's occupant data that was described in Section 4.4.1: Occupant Identification. The occupant identifier data was then analysed to show how often site occupants changed, to identify sites which had large numbers of different occupants, and to determine whether different Areas exhibited greater amounts of change than others.

Changing Site Uses

Analysis of changing uses relied heavily upon the re-classified Goad data whose creation was described in detail in Section 4.4.2: Use Classification. This data was analysed by Area to determine how many different uses there were, and to determine both how the types of uses were changing and if it was possible to identify any patterns of change in the types of uses in each Area and Region.

Retail	Leisure	Services	Institutional	Other
Shops	Restaurants, Pubs & Clubs	Banks etc.	Council uses	Vacant etc.
Food stores	Museums, Galleries	Insurance & Finance	Churches	Entrances
Clothing stores	Tourist facilities	Travel Agents	Universities	Car Parks
Household goods	Hotels	Offices	Government	

Table 4.8: Broad Classification of site Uses

In addition to the use analysis described above, a more general use classification was constructed in an effort to identify broad trends in the changing sectoral makeup of the street that might be overlooked by the earlier use analysis. All sites were classified into one of five broad non-overlapping categories.

* Redevelopment due to occupant change was not considered separately.

This data was used to contextualise discussions about the changing street by allowing reference to wider trends than focusing on single issues would allow. In particular, it recognises that within a geographically defined locale, for one general type of use to expand, the others will also be affected, and this analysis goes some way to quantifying the nature of these changes in Edinburgh.

4.5.2: Streets of Stability

Dominant conceptions of the postmodern street characterise it as a constantly changing, unstable, placeless entity. To focus exclusively on change ignores the tensions within the landscape between change and stability, between new sites and older occupants who may have been in situ for generations, that gives the street much of its character. In addition, focusing solely on change also implies that its opposite, stability, is simply its inverse.

This section questions the basic underlying assumption by focusing on how stable the street is, by focusing on how rarely some sites change, and whether we can develop an understanding of what might be described as the 'relic' landscapes that underpin the street. Thus, rather than focusing on how many and how often sites change, this section highlights both how many sites have continual occupancy and measures how 'old' the streetscapes of each street Area are in terms of the average age of the occupants it contains.

4.5.3: Streets of Leisure: The role of leisure and pleasure

The role of the city and the street as postmodern leisure centres has become one of the central tenets of much of the current leisure studies literature. This section focuses on this assumption by studying the role and distribution of leisure services within the two study Regions in an attempt to understand both whether we can measure any appreciable growth in leisure services as a component of the overall street usage, and whether specific patterns of changing leisure uses emerges over the study period.

All site occupants and uses were divided into three broad categories: leisure sites, the places where leisure actually takes place, leisure facilitators, the sites and services that cater to leisure uses, and all other uses.

Leisure Sites	Leisure Facilitators	Other
Pubs, Clubs etc.	Travel Agencies	Non-tourist retail
Restaurants, Cafes etc.	Bureaux de Change	Non-tourist institutional
Museums and Galleries	Tourist Information etc.	Non-tourist services
Heritage sites	Outdoor/Sports Goods etc.	Vacant sites etc.
Tourist stores/services		

Table 4.9: Sample Leisure classifications

Defining tourist-related sites was by far the most problematic of these classifications. Services that cater directly to tourists, like hotels, and those that are leisure/educational attractions, like the National Museum of Scotland, are fairly straightforward to classify, whereas the wider aspects of the 'heritage industry' are somewhat more difficult to quantify. In these cases, the classification that was used relied in equal parts upon Goad's classifications of souvenir stores, sites that sold 'Scottish' goods such as knitwear and tartans, whiskies, jewellery and so on, and upon informal field surveys.

Given that many stores and services serve both tourists and the local population (e.g. pubs, restaurants), it was felt best to only identify as tourist-related stores those that were primarily oriented towards tourists, so sites that could be said to serve both groups, like combination film processors/dry cleaners, were not identified as tourist-related sites. This decision was primarily made to maximise the consistency of classification of these retail/leisure sites across the wider study Regions and across the length of the study period: this has had the effect of possibly slightly underestimating the number of tourist sites, but there is no satisfactory means to resolve this dilemma, as field surveys of the contemporary occupants would still not allow us to apply anything other than a subjective correction for the sites and services that no longer exist.

4.5.4: Streets of Services

The definition of 'service' sites was perhaps the most problematic of all the usage classifications. Two types of service uses were readily identified: 'white collar' services, which included medical and financial services, were easy to identify, as were the various service buildings, warehouses, loading bays and so

on*. Far more problematic were sites that provided a mixture of goods and services: chemists, dry-cleaners/photo processors and so on. Were these retail sites, service sites, or a combination of the two, and if so exactly what type of combination?

As it is possible to argue that the majority of retail and leisure sites are simultaneously providing some form of service provision, classification decisions revolved around the dilemma of definition. It became clear that it was not possible to generate any form of logical classification for retail sites, and it was decided to avoid such arbitrary distinctions by simply classifying all shops (etc.) as retailing. This has meant the service classification is based upon conventional definitions of 'white-collar' services. As the shift towards white-collar services is seen by many to be central to the new post-industrial, post-Fordist economy, it was felt that this was an acceptable trade-off.

All site uses were finally divided into three broad categories of services:

Personal Services	Financial Services	Other
Estate Agents	Banks, Building Societies	All shops
Doctors, Lawyers etc.	Mortgage Services	Vacant sites etc.
Travel Agents	Financial Services etc.	Ancillary/service buildings

Table 4.10: Sample service classifications

The 'services' classification was divided into several sub-groups during data classification, purely to facilitate the classification of the relevant sites. Once classification was finished, all of the sub-classifications were re-aggregated back into a generic 'service' classification.

The final service classification provides a mechanism to focus on the provision of these services within the study Regions, and to see if the shift towards a service economy could be measured by studying changing street-level uses. It should be understood though, that it is quite possible that the results would not present a particularly accurate representation of changing service provision in the study Regions *as a whole*, given that the source material is geographically limited, there are difficulties in creating accurate and appropriate definitions of

* These ancillary service sites were not actually classed as service sites in the final classification.

service uses, and perhaps most importantly, the fact that the source material does not provide any information about above-street site uses, which should in itself result in a substantial under-representation of the service activities within the study Regions.

While it is arguably appropriate to identify the street level as the primary location of retail (and to a slightly less degree leisure) provision, it is clear that the street itself does not monopolise service locations: to assume otherwise would, for example, ignore the factor of home-working. This problem is systematically compounded by Goad's data collection/representation practices: in many cases the maps list 'entrances', even if they are shown to be attached to substantial plots of land, and without providing any indication whether these entrances service residential or other site uses. The result of this is that in many cases businesses and services that are clearly labelled as so at street level are excluded from the ground survey. Because of these issues, it should be emphasised that the changing nature of street-services should not necessarily be expected to parallel the wider and changing roles of services in the economy.

4.5.5: Streets of Organised Capital

The discourse surrounding the changing street, in particular that of the Retail Revolution, has focused on the growth of multiples and the concomitant restructuring of the retail street. To study the penetration of chains, franchises and associated forms of capital over the time period of the study, the occupants of every site were initially manually classified into chains where appropriate.

To complement the identification of chains, it was decided to explicitly identify every situation where a named occupier was present in **two or more sites anywhere within the two study Regions during the same year,** by defining these sites as multiples. As such, when the terms chains and multiples are used here **they are not meant to be read as synonymous**, but as indicating fundamentally different classifications. It was decided not to define multiples on the basis of identically named sites within the same study Region, as it was felt that this was too restrictive a base for comparison, due to the relatively small sample size of both study Regions, and more importantly that comparing data

within the study Regions wilfully ignored the fact that the two study Regions are hundreds of meters apart from each other. It must be noted that the identification and classification of these multiples is directly linked to the overall size of the study site: if the study had been based upon the data from four Goad maps, for example, it is expected that the overall numbers of multiples would be somewhat higher.

All site uses were thus divided into three broad categories:

Chains/ Multiples/Franchises			Other
Boots	Greg's	Banks etc.	All institutional uses
McDonalds'	Waterstones	BT	Vacant sites etc.
Principles	RS McColl	Scottish Gas	Individual/sole traders
Vantage Pharmacy		American Express	

Table 4.11: Sample capital classifications

From this dataset it is possible to study both the penetration of organised capital into the street landscape, and to develop a greater knowledge of the evolving street of chains, including how quickly they penetrate the streetscape, how geographically concentrated they are, whether they still represent an increasing percentage of street uses, and whether new chain sites are now replacing existing chain sites or non-chain sites.

4.5.6: Streets of Homogeneity, Streets of Variety

There are many different ways of both defining and in turn measuring homogeneity or similar relative measures of sameness. While it is not possible to analyse how similar the streets within the study Regions are with other streets outside the study Region, it is possible to classify the data we already have to measure homogeneity in terms of the growth in numbers of chains and franchises in the landscape, as this represents a particular type of homogeneity, where basing analyses upon the numbers of chain sites provides a means of measuring the degree of similarity between the study Regions and the wider economic sphere. Using the particular definition of multiples outlined above provides an alternative analysis of levels of homogeneity **within** the study Regions, i.e. of all Occupants who are represented in multiple sites within the two study Regions in any given year. In addition, this data can be analysed to

show us how varied streets are, and the numbers of unique occupants in each Area .

Just as we can measure homogeneity in terms of similarities in occupants, we can also measure it in terms of similarities in uses. Using the usage classification that was developed earlier (see section 4.5.1: Streets of Change), it is possible to develop indices of how varied the uses are for each street Area, and whether the variety of uses is changing and/or homogenising.

4.6: Towards an understanding of the Street

There is to some degree an inherent contradiction between the desire to impose a logic upon the analysis of the changing street, and what might best be characterised as the street's unruliness and resistance to straightforward and simple explanations. As a result, any presentation of the results of analysis is by definition somewhat arbitrary, as there are always cross-references, points of difference, points of comparison, related and relevant ideas that cannot easily be shoe-horned into all the possible and relevant positions within a contiguous stream of data and commentary without creating logical holes elsewhere in the argument. It is a shibboleth that everything is connected/related, and this is true in this case as well.

The result of this has been a decision to separate (somewhat arbitrarily) the results into two chapters: Chapter 6, which will look at the broader question of change (or the lack thereof) **qua** change, while Chapter 7 focuses on more specific thematic aspects of the changing Edinburgh street.

4.6.1: Chapter 6: Streets of Change, Streets of Stability

Chapter 6 is divided into three broad thematic sections, focusing on the changing street, the stable street, and streets of homogeneity. The changing street is a broad overview of change, asking if streets are changing, how are they changing, are specific Areas changing faster than others, questioning whether vacancies can be used as indicators of change, and attempting to determine if there are identical structural patterns of change which may be used to indicate how the street and its role has changed during the study period.

In contrast, the section on streets and stability questions these discourses of change, and essentially reverses the questions asked in the section on change, by asking not how is the street changing but by identifying sitess of stability and focusing on the lack of change in the street. In particular, it focuses on the 1994 street, which as the final year in the survey provides the most appropriate opportunity to construct a 'historic' profile of the 'current' street. In addition, specific interest is shown in the sites from 1978 that have existed unchanged throughout the length of the study period.

Streets of homogeneity explores the questions of homogeneity and change that characterise many of the more abstract conceptualisations of the changing city. It uses the data on chains and multiples as indicators of homogeneity within and across the two study Regions, while the data on chains provides an opportunity to develop indicators of similarity and 'sameness' with the wider urban experience. In addition, data on Regional site uses is analysed to determine if there is evidence to support arguments about the increasing homogenisation of the street through decreases in the availability of a variety of services and goods.

4.6.2: Chapter 7: Streets of Leisure, Services and Capital

To complement the broad analyses of change in Chapter 6, Chapter 7 focuses on the analysis of change in three specific themes: leisure, services and capital. Streets of leisure focuses on identifying the changing role of leisure in the study Regions, and determining how leisure is changing, if leisure provision is actually expanding, questioning whether there is a geographic concentration of leisure services. It analyses whether there is a general increase in leisure provision, or if specific types of leisure services are becoming more prevalent. The changing relationship between retailing and leisure is studied, as is the changing nature of food and alcohol consumption.

Streets of services focuses on the changing role of service provision in the urban street, and studies whether service sites are becoming increasingly prevalent. In addition, it specifically identifies institutional sites, and studies their changing role and impact.

Streets of capital focuses on the analysis of the changing roles of chains and multiples in the study Regions. After looking in detail at the changes of each of these classes of sites, it looks at the changes in the relationship between the two by studying the changing nature of both the chain-multiple and the non-chain multiple, before moving on to focus in detail on the changing retail scene and its relationship to the changing roles of chains and multiples. This analysis is then complemented by studying the links between leisure and service sites and chains and multiples.

Chapter 5: Introduction to Edinburgh

Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland, is a city of variety and contrast. Dominated by the Old and New towns, the historic landscape of the city contains 32 conservation areas, including 20 outstanding conservation areas which contain 58% of the region's listed buildings (Lothian Regional Council, 1994a). The importance of the city has been widely recognised, with the significant impact of the local festivals: tourism plays a substantial role and contributes to 40% of non-food spending in city centre.

Edinburgh contains the 4th largest shopping area in the UK, behind only London, Birmingham and Glasgow. Shopping is focused primarily around Princes Street itself, although there is significant on-street retailing stretching outwards from the core, through Tollcross, the South Side, and towards Leith. Retailing, and in particular the preservation of the existing retail hierarchy, is important to the city, and is repeatedly emphasised in local plans. The two study regions account for approximately 18% of the total number of stores in Edinburgh (as of 1986), and approximately one third of all floor space.

The local economy is dominated by government, financial and educational services, which together account for 76% of all Edinburgh employment (Lothian Regional Council, 1977: p. 27). These services are concentrated in the city centre, which is the largest employment centre in Lothian with some 145,000 jobs (58% of the total for the entire region), and which has attracted significant public and private investment since the late 80s (City of Edinburgh District Council, 1997).

This chapter provides both a context for, and overviews of, the changes that occurred in the study regions between 1979 and 1994. It provides a brief synopsis of the historic forces that have shaped the development of the city, before exploring in detail the policies and background issues that have affected development in the study regions. This is followed by an examination of the future prospects for the study regions, and examines the Council's twin roles of protector of the environment and supporter of development.

5.1.1: The Foundations of the Modern City

Perched high on the Castle rock, the Edinburgh Old Town was a prototype ribbon development, stretching from the Castle down along the Lawnmarket and the Royal Mile towards Holyrood Palace. With the exception of development along the Canongate, growth in the medieval Old Town was constrained by the boundaries of the Flodden Wall until the middle of the 18th century. The result was a dense city, characterised by high tenements constructed around small wynds and closes. Unable to expand beyond the city walls, without any of the connections to the surrounding areas that we now take for granted (North and South Bridge, George IV Bridge, The Mound), and suffering from the removal of many governmental functions from the city after the Act of Union, the city stagnated.

The New Town, and Princes Street in particular, were the first new streets to be laid down in Edinburgh for several centuries. The New Town is one of the, if not the first, planned 'New Towns', with the land purchased by the council in 1766 and Princes Street, George Street and Queen Streets laid out to the plans of James Craig. Six years later the first North Bridge was completed, and over the next decade the Mound was created from the construction debris generated by the construction of Craig's vision. Simultaneously, George Square was built to the south of the Old Town in 1766 as a speculative housing development. With the construction of South Bridge in 1788, the outlines for the Edinburgh we see today were emerging. Development continued with the northwards expansion of the New Town through the James Reid's Second New Town*, while development to the south of the Old Town around George Square was facilitated by the construction of George IV Bridge in 1836 (City of Edinburgh District Council, 1997).

This suburban construction sparked an upheaval in the Old Town, precipitating a considerable outward migration of the middle and upper classes from the cramped Old Town. As their place (and wealth) were replaced by an

*To clarify the various stages of development in the New Town, the convention is to chronologically number each phase of development: thus Craig's plans represent the 'First New Town', while Reid's work is referred to as the 'Second New Town'.

influx of rural workers, the medieval city began to decay. Houses and tenements were subdivided, and congestion and overcrowding began to substantially increase, with the population of the Old Town doubling from 22,476 in 1801 to an all-time high of 39,948 in 1861 (City of Edinburgh District Council Planning Department, 1980).

Recognising these problems, in 1867 the Council began to regenerate the Old Town by rebuilding it, cutting St. Mary's, Blackfriar's, Chambers, Market and Jeffrey Streets through the wynds and closes of the medieval city. With the reconstruction of Waverley Station in 1892, closely followed by the construction of a new North Bridge in 1897, the construction of the North British Hotel in 1902 sees the completion of the foundations of the city centre that exists today (Abercrombie and Plumstead, 1949; McWilliam, 1996).

5.2: Background to the Princes Street Study Region

The Princes Street study region contains a substantial proportion of Craig's First New Town, including all of the frontage of Princes and Rose Streets, and a considerable portion of the central section of George Street. Sites along Queen Street, Charlotte Square and the western portions of George Street are not included in the dataset. While the Princes Street study region is contained within the boundaries of the New Town Conservation Area, it represents a relatively small proportion of the total area covered by the Conservation Area. Princes Street is the dominant retail centre of the city and the surrounding region, while George Street contains a significant number of offices and retail sites. The population of the region is low, the majority of the housing having been converted either to offices or redeveloped into retail units.

During the nineteenth century, many of the Georgian dwellings along Princes Street were replaced as a result of the commercial pressures in the centre: the resulting destruction of the standardised architectural style was widely criticised (City of Edinburgh District Council Planning Department, 1982). With the rise in the numbers of automobiles, the conflict between traffic and the street which has been such a feature of the history of Princes Street in the last half of the twentieth century had emerged as a significant issue by the

early 30s.

The 1949 City Plan noted that the population in the Princes Street region had declined markedly, especially in comparison to the very high population concentrations in the Old Town. It was suggested that the remaining population centres near Princes Street, the neighbourhood around St. James Square and Greenside at the east end of Princes Street, should be cleared and renewed, in recognition of their considerable decline. It was felt that very little of Princes Street's frontage was worth preserving: the plan called for the retention of only three or four buildings along Princes Street, the remainder to be replaced by larger (and thus more suitable) retail premises (Abercrombie and Plumstead, 1949; see also Whitehand, 1992). This disparagement of the quality of the fabric of Princes Street would be a recurring theme of analyses of the region for the next thirty years.

The Council's 1958 planning report on Princes Street reached broadly similar conclusions about the lack of any need to preserve the existing fabric of the street: thus it encouraged wholesale redevelopment, and specified that all new buildings should include a first floor walkway along the first floor frontages facing Princes Street, each would eventually become a component of a continuous elevated walkway running the length of Princes Street. It was clear that the intention of the Council was to redevelop the street in its entirety. Plans for this walkway were a response to the continuing conflicts between pedestrians and traffic along Princes Street. As it was accepted that traffic could not be moved from Princes Street, there was thus a need for alternative provision for pedestrians. The traffic levels along Princes Street continued, however, to increase over the next thirty years, to the detriment of city centre pedestrians (City of Edinburgh District Council Planning Department, 1982: p. 6).

In the 60s, a high proportion of the buildings along Princes Street were still over 70 years old, indicating that despite the renewal anticipated by the 1949 plan, much of the street had yet to be redeveloped, although many large sites would be cleared and redeveloped during the 1960s for the growing number of retail multiples who were locating along Princes Street. At this time, Princes Street was the only segment of the city receiving significant amounts of private

investment (Hewitson, 1968). St. James Square was finally cleared to allow comprehensive redevelopment (City of Edinburgh District Council, 1997: p. 102), amid calls for the redevelopment of Waverley Station and the linking of Princes Street and the Royal Mile via a series of new shops along the North Bridge (Jones, 1963).

The Princes Street Panel's Report of 1967 set the framework for the further redevelopment of Princes Street, aiming to better integrate new buildings into the street. Given that the council had to compensate owners of listed buildings if they refused permission for their demolition, the plan was felt to be a pragmatic attempt to guide the significant levels of redevelopment anticipated by local Council. Like its predecessor in 1958, the Princes Street Panel assumed that Princes Street would be redeveloped in its entirety, and thus proposed a standard street section to go with the continued demands for the provision of elevated walkways. The Panel anticipated similar levels of comprehensive redevelopment along George Street: fortunately this did not occur. It would be 1982 before these plans were rescinded (City of Edinburgh District Council Planning Department, 1982).

At the time of the 1967 report, few buildings along Princes Street were listed, as it was assumed the street would need to be completely redeveloped, and the council was unable to meet the financial burden implicit in attempts to preserve listed buildings. The planning policies approved with the report made it difficult to retain existing buildings along Princes Street, whether listed or not, and this was in later years regarded as a serious failure (City of Edinburgh District Council Planning Department, 1982: p. 1-3). With the passage of the Civic Amenities Act of 1967, it became possible to classify areas as conservation areas, and the New Town Conservation Area, the largest single grant aided scheme in Britain, was established in 1970 (McWilliam, 1996). The number of listed buildings along Princes Street then slowly began to rise, although significant numbers of buildings would not be listed until the early 80s*.

* Significant numbers of sites along George Street and the intervening streets were already listed.

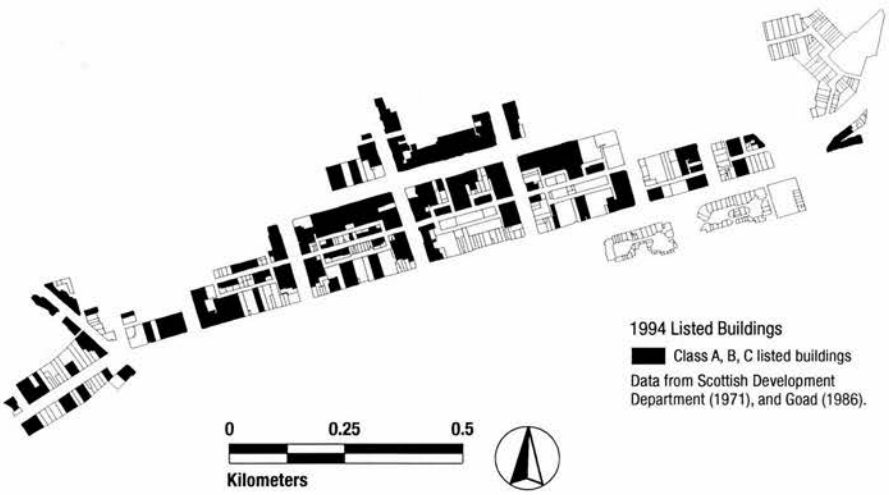


Figure 5.1: Listed buildings in the Princes Street study region, 1994.

5.3: Background to the St. Giles Study Region

> At present none of the functions of the area is performed satisfactorily. Many residential properties lie empty and sites are undeveloped; buildings of historic interest are not being maintained and are decreasing in number; there is an increasing imbalance in the type of shops and facilities for residents in the area and the high standard of tourist facilities, hotels, restaurants, which visitors might expect in a central and historic area does not exist (City of Edinburgh District Council Planning Department, 1980: p. 8).

The Royal Mile/St. Giles study region includes almost all of pre-Georgian Edinburgh, with the exceptions of the Cowgate, Canongate and Grassmarket, which are not covered by the Goad survey region. The Old Town is the historic centre of the city, and is dominated by significant institutional uses, including local and national government offices, law courts and university buildings.

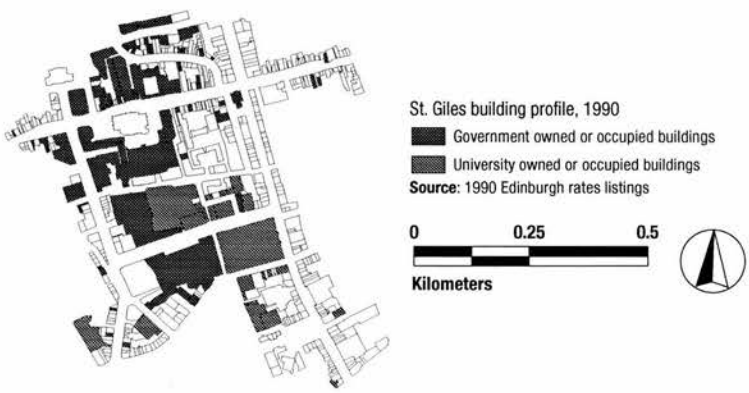


Figure 5.2: Concentration of Institutional and University uses, St. Giles 1990.

The St. Giles study region straddles two Conservation Areas: to the north that of the Old Town Conservation Area, which covers sites north of Chambers Street, along with additional areas to the east and west of the Royal Mile which

fall outwith the study region, and the South Side Conservation Area, into which falls the southern portion of the study region, although this represents a relatively small proportion of the South Side Conservation Area.

As was the case with Princes Street, Abercrombie's 1949 plan felt that little of the region was worth preserving, and envisioned the reconstruction of the Old Town around a few 'notable' landmarks along the Royal Mile (Abercrombie and Plumstead, 1949; Edinburgh Old Town Committee for Conservation and Renewal, 1990). Considerable portions of the High Street (approximately 50%) were found to be in poor or very poor condition, a situation which would remain broadly unchanged for the next forty years.

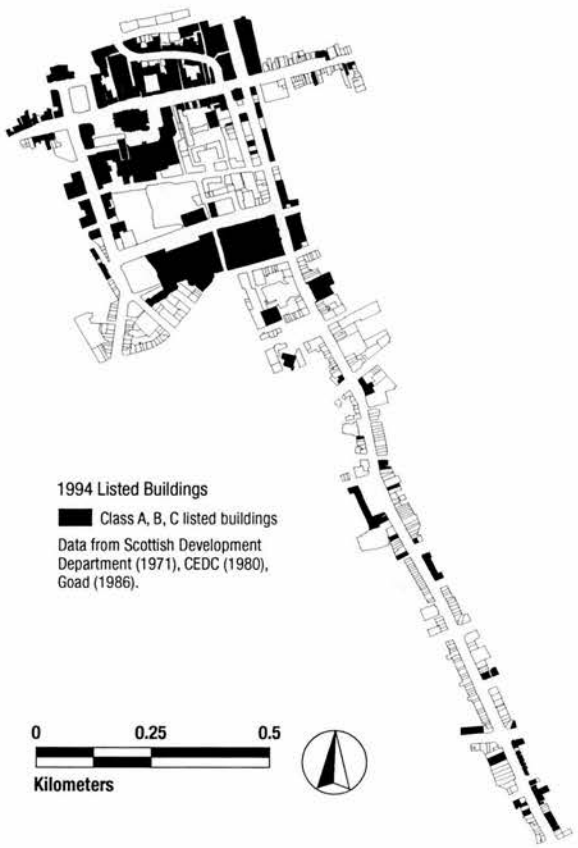


Figure 5.3: Listed buildings in the St. Giles study region, 1994.

The Old Town has suffered significant declines in the local population, which dropped by 3/4 between 1951 and 1990, in combination with the winding down of much of the local industrial base, in particular the breweries and workshops along the Cowgate and the Canongate (Edinburgh Old Town Committee for Conservation and Renewal, 1990). The region is home to significant numbers of

homeless people, and contains large numbers of students and the elderly, but few families, due to a lack of suitable housing.

During the 60s and 70s, the streets of the Old Town were increasingly blighted by rising numbers of vacancies, combined with growing numbers of gap sites (particularly the site now occupied by the Holiday Inn at the corner of the Royal Mile and North Bridge). The majority of (re)developments in the region were criticised for their relatively poor architectural quality, although the government's emphasis was upon the renovating and revitalising the region's housing stock, which was in exceptionally poor condition. Like the housing stock, many of listed buildings in the region were in poor condition, ironically, the worst being those around the High Street/Royal Mile. The Royal Mile had become a facade, "lined, in a sense, with stage sets — historic facades concealing squalid closes and derelict buildings" (Edinburgh Old Town Committee for Conservation and Renewal, 1990: p. 2).

Significant numbers of residential listed buildings had also deteriorated, to the point where many could not be saved (City of Edinburgh District Council Planning Department, 1980). The entire eastern side of Nicolson Street between West Richmond Street and East Crosscauseway was derelict, despite being almost entirely comprised of listed buildings. While a number of buildings could not be saved, the remainder were gutted, the facades preserved and interiors rebuilt as part of the first substantial redevelopment within the South Side Conservation Area (T. Harley Haddow & Partners, 1974).

The decline in the local population was paralleled by declines in local retailing, which was affected by the effective collapse of the local market, combined with the impact of rationalisation within the sector, the development of new retail methods which could not be adopted by local sites due to the constraints of small plot sizes and restrictions of conservation planning, added to competition from new retail centres, particularly the St. James Centre which opened in 1973. The result was the continued closure of small local shops, which resulted in vacancy rates markedly higher than in Princes Street (Lothian Regional Council, 1977). The neighbourhood around Nicholson St. was most affected by this population loss, which, when combined with the eventual closure

of all the department stores in the Old Town, resulted in marked declines in the local shopping facilities (City of Edinburgh District Council Planning Department, 1980).

Despite the concentration of heritage sites in the region and the Old Town's great potential, there was very little investment in the tourist infrastructure (City of Edinburgh District Council Planning Department, 1980: p. 8), while the local quality of life was threatened by the substantial traffic problems the Old Town faced. With few relief routes available, there was little opportunity to relieve traffic congestion, short of the construction of substantial new road works: the threat of a 'Bridges Relief Road' which would relieve congestion on the North and South Bridges by cutting a new road through the eastern end of the Royal Mile, occupied local campaigners for the best part of the 60s and 70s (Edinburgh Old Town Committee for Conservation and Renewal, 1990).

5.4: Background to the Study period.

5.4.1: The Role of Retailing

The study period (1979-94) has seen significant structural and organisational shifts in retailing, perhaps most significantly through the impact of the retail revolution (Dawson, 1988), and the significant migration of chain stores into the high street (i.e. Princes Street). Technological and organisation developments (including improvements in distribution and stock control/management) have increasingly tilted competition in favour of the continued growth in numbers of multiples (Murray, 1988; City of Edinburgh District Council Planning Department, 1990). The result of this competition has been increased pressure on independent retailers, and the closure of significant numbers of smaller local shops (cf. Smith and Sparks, 1997), with increasing levels of vacancies, especially in the St. Giles region (Lothian Regional Council, 1977; City of Edinburgh District Council Planning Department, 1980). The continuing demand for out of town retail development continued to place pressure on the city's greenbelt, and the opening of the Cameron Toll development on the southern edge of the St. Giles study region in 1984 placed additional pressure on South Side retailers, local produce stores in particular. The development of city-centre town

management schemes was one of the many suggestions to help retailers respond to these changes, although such plans have yet to be implemented (City of Edinburgh District Council Planning Department, 1990).

In line with the planning guidance issued by the Scottish Office (Scottish Office Development Department, 1996; Scottish Executive Development Department, 1999), the focus of the retail policies of the various levels of local government has been to preserve the existing retail hierarchy, maintaining the position of Princes Street as the dominant retail centre within the region and South East Scotland (Lothian Regional Council, 1978; Lothian Regional Council, 1994b). Generally, there has been a continued resistance to the growth of out of town retailing, including the development of retail warehouses and superstores. The Council does not regard the latter developments as significant threats to the traditional shopping areas, preferring to focus on the threat from purpose built shopping centres on the urban fringe (City of Edinburgh District Council Planning Department, 1990: p. 35) and from competing regional centres, particularly Glasgow and Newcastle (City of Edinburgh District Council Economic Development Committee, 1998). It is interesting to note that the most significant exception to the presumption against out of town development, the Gyle, was developed in part by the local Council.

The development of the Gyle Shopping Centre must be seen within the context of a growing fear that consumers within Edinburgh have considerable (and growing) amounts of unserviced expenditure, and the Council and Regional governments have responded aggressively, seeking to grasp and implement any possible retail developments that would keep this spending within the city boundaries. Parallel to this is the growing demand for retail floor-space, which the Council is finding increasingly difficult to supply while maintaining the position of the city centre, and that of Princes Street in particular (City of Edinburgh District Council Planning Department, 1990).

Apart from the Waverley Centre, which was opened in 1984, the opportunities to increase the amounts of retail floor-space in central Edinburgh have been limited. The result is what the Council regards as high levels of overcrowding in the centre, with the attendant traffic problems. Given the

difficulties in developing additional floor-space, the Council has attempted to increase the density of retail uses, emphasising the greater use of the upper stories of retail units, particularly along Princes Street. This has been combined with attempts to increase the numbers of retail uses along George Street, by facilitating the conversion of offices to retail units (etc.). To maintain (and reinforce) the existing concentrations of retail uses along the dominant shopping streets, the Council instituted a policy in 1981 of restricting the numbers of non-retail uses in major shopping centres, including both the Princes Street and St. Giles study regions (City of Edinburgh District Council Planning Department, 1990).

A high priority of the Council, the Regional government and the various conservation bodies was the upgrading of traditional high streets. These strategies include the funding of shop-front and streetscape improvements, increased control over signage policies, increased pedestrianisation, and the development of specialised shopping streets (City of Edinburgh District Council Planning Department, 1990).

5.4.2: The Role of Offices

The city centre, in particular the Princes Street region along George Street, has been the traditional location of office space in Edinburgh. Significant proportions of George Street have been converted to offices, where redevelopment has often been hidden behind retained facades (Richards, 1994). The desire to increase the amount of retail space in the centre has led to the Council's encouragement for these office uses to move to alternative city centre locations (Goad Plans, 1986).

While the official policy has been to restrain office development in the city centre, this policy has gone through several noticeable transitions. The pressures of rising demand for offices, and in particular the growing competition between offices and other uses (primarily retail and housing) led to the Region restricting office development in the core in 1978 (Lothian Regional Council, 1978).

When the 1985 Structure Plan was developed, it marked a shift in office policy to encourage office development in the city. This growth was not to be

focused on the existing office areas within the New Town however, but on those to the immediate south west, where the Morrison St. railway yards were the site of long-term redevelopment plans. The construction of the Edinburgh International Conference Centre and the Edinburgh Exchange in the early 90s resulted in a marked increase in city centre office space (Lothian Regional Council, 1994a).

5.4.3: The Automobile and Public Transit

From the turn of the century plans by Caledonian Railways to run rail services under Princes Street/George Street as part of a circular network linking the downtown core with Leith and Trinity (Smith and Anderson, 1995: p. 57-8), to the current plans to build busways linking the Princes Street and the western end of the city (Lothian Regional Council, 1995a), the last century has seen repeated attempts to redefine the transport infrastructure in central Edinburgh.

There have been constant conflicts and tensions between the automobile, public transport and the pedestrian in both of the study regions since the 30s. While the small streets, Victorian era Bridges and lack of alternative routes have been a sure recipe for vehicular congestion in the Old Town, Princes Street suffers both from its relative accessibility to automobiles, and from the extra traffic generated from its position as a convenient cross town transit route.

While Edinburgh was well served by commuter rail at the turn of the century, competition from buses and trams saw local rail services begin to decline in the 1920s, before being finally gutted in the 60s as a result of the recommendations of the Beeching report. The increased competition for road space from automobiles led in turn to the abrupt removal of tram services from the core in the mid 50s (Smith and Anderson, 1995: p. 7), leaving a public transit system that was heavily reliant upon bus services, as it remains to this day (Lothian Regional Council, 1994a: p. 228).

Debate over the state of Princes Street during the 30s focused on the need to widen Princes Street to cope with the rising levels of traffic, but this was complicated by the location of the RSA at the foot of the Mound, which would have had to be substantially altered to facilitate traffic flow. By 1949, the high

levels of traffic along Princes Street meant that the construction of a by pass of some description was "clearly necessary".

Abercrombie proposed to connect Leith Walk with the Pleasance by constructing a road through Calton Hill and across the eastern end of Waverley Station. It was felt that the construction of a bypass to the south of the Castle was impractical, given that the obvious route would require the reconstruction of both the Grassmarket and the Cowgate (and possibly both George IV and South Bridges). Routing traffic north of Princes Street along Queen Street was also felt to be unacceptable, and so a radical alternative was proposed, which called for Princes Street to be completely excavated, and a bypass buried underneath the street: above the by-pass would be built an under-street car park, on top of which the existing street would be re-laid (Abercrombie and Plumstead, 1949).

While this radical plan was not implemented, traffic levels continued to rise. A decade later, the Council's 1958 planning report on Princes Street felt that the only solution to conflicts between traffic and pedestrians along Princes Street was to construct a new walkway running along the first floor frontages of buildings facing Princes Street. The success of such a plan however relied upon the complete redevelopment of Princes Street, which did not occur, nor did the plan stem the rising traffic levels along Princes Street (City of Edinburgh District Council Planning Department, 1982).

It would be another twenty years before serious plans to redress the traffic problems in Princes Street in particular were implemented. With the emergence of regional governments, it was recognised that the city faced unsustainable transport conflicts: hence plans were put in place to maximise the impact of public transport, for it was realised that despite the traffic problems the core faced, car ownership in the region was significantly below the national average — a situation which was bound to change (Lothian Regional Council, 1977: p. 58).

The 80s saw the pedestrianisation of Rose Street, together with the widening of sidewalks along Princes Street (Lothian Regional Council, 1994b). They also saw continued conflict between the local council and regional government over

the provision of parking spaces in the city centre, and around Princes Street in particular. Recognising the growing traffic problems, the Council supported the use of public transit by aggressively reducing the numbers of parking spaces in the city centre, in direct opposition to the regional government, which sought significant increases in parking provision (Goad Plans, 1986). This restrictive trend was eventually reinforced through the imposition of wide-ranging restrictions on long-stay parking in the city centre, with the development of electronic sign-posting systems to maximise the efficiency of city centre car parking and minimise the impact of the removal of on-street parking (City of Edinburgh District Council Planning Department, 1990).

By the 90s it was widely accepted that excessive traffic was having significant consequences on all city centre users (Lothian Regional Council, 1994c), while surveys of Princes Street reinforced the need to radically reshape traffic flows in favour of pedestrians, instead of the automobile which dominated Edinburgh's premier street (Lothian Regional Council, 1994a: p. 233). The result was an increased emphasis upon pedestrians within planning and transport policies: hence the move towards increased pedestrianisation in both the Old and New Towns, significant investment in the redevelopment of sidewalks and pedestrian areas, and a focus on the car/pedestrian conflict which increasingly emphasised the role (and rights) of pedestrians within the city (Lothian Regional Council, 1995c).

Current policy aims to stem increases in car traffic in and about the city centre by 2000, and to reduce traffic by 30% within the decade (Lothian Regional Council, 1995b). The development of long term public transport strategies has been made more difficult by the removal of bus services from local control after the 1985 Transportation Act, a problem exacerbated by the more recent rail privatisation. Transit policy continues to advocate the increased use of buses, particularly through the Greenways scheme which gives priority to buses over other forms of traffic. While the long term goal is the development of a light rail system, hence the funding of the (re)construction of commuter stations during the 80s (Lothian Regional Council, 1994c; Lothian Regional Council, 1995b), there is very little local funding available for transport improvements.

The proceeds from the sale of the Council's share of the Gyle development provided significant portions of funding for the Greenways scheme, and without substantial funding from central government, parking taxes and road pricing may be the only alternatives left to the Council to fund infrastructure improvements (City of Edinburgh Council, 2000c).

From the proposed underground road of the 1949 plan to the myriad bypasses proposed since, the need to juggle the competing desires of (suburban) traffic and of the city centre and the pedestrian has bedevilled the development of the core and of Princes Street in particular. As the rate of car ownership in the region has risen, it has become increasingly clear that the core is unable, the council unwilling, to accommodate any growth in levels of automobile traffic. While the removal of eastbound traffic on Princes Street has allowed for significant widening of sidewalks, Princes Street is still negatively affected by the noise and pollution caused by the remaining traffic, while the expanded sidewalks are still insufficient to cope with the peak concentrations of pedestrians attempting to move along Princes Street.

Any attempts to increase the attractiveness of the core, either through increases in the levels of retail floor-space or through the efforts of wider city-management and redevelopment schemes, will undoubtedly fail unless the fundamental traffic issues are addressed. While the attempts to replace private traffic with public transit are laudable in theory, in practice the development of public transit alternatives remains slow, the uptake limited. The core of Edinburgh has become too successful for its limited vehicular infrastructure: the focus on competition with other cities avoids confronting the real local problems, and resists the development of appropriate local and locally scaled solutions to the issues of development and traffic. The core is in the middle of a period of immense transition, yet the council is unable to chart a credible path towards its vision of a revitalised global city in the third millennium.

5.5: Change in the Princes Street region

Princes Street is the primary retail centre within Edinburgh and the surrounding region, and is dominated by large multiples, particularly along

Princes Street itself, which was dominated by corporate shop fronts which did not blend in with the remaining historic architecture or the wider streetscape. Princes Street has very high rates and rents (amongst the highest in the UK), a combination which has forced out many of the earlier established retailers (particularly in the face of competition with multiples) during the 70s and 80s. These high costs have contributed to noticeable spikes in vacancy rates during recessions (Goad Plans, 1986). Immediately to the east of Princes Street is the St. James Centre, Edinburgh's primary (downtown) enclosed mall, which was opened in 1973 and expanded with the construction of a food court in the mid 90s.

Development in the region was characterised by attempts to constrain office growth in the centre, in order to protect existing retail uses (Lothian Regional Council, 1977). Wider efforts to protect retailing have continued through the development of wider restrictions on the opening of non-retail uses within the principle shopping areas throughout the Princes Street study region (Goad Plans, 1986). With the considerable growth in new office construction in the city centre during the late 80s and early 90s, combined with high vacancy rates for offices in the New Town, the council began to encourage the removal of office functions from George Street, in favour of retail and appropriate service uses, although significant amounts of office space remain in the region (Lothian Regional Council, 1994a).

The development guidelines of the Princes Street Panel report of 1968, which encouraged the development of an above street foot walk and the use of a standard frontage style for new development, was finally dropped in 1982, to be replaced with a series of policies emphasising the retention of existing listed buildings, the development of pedestrianisation, and reducing the impact of traffic in the core (City of Edinburgh District Council Planning Department, 1982; McWilliam, 1996).

The construction of the Waverley Centre in 1984, was the first substantial growth in retail floor-space within city centre since the construction of the St. James Centre a decade earlier. The development of this mall, squeezed between Princes Street and Waverley station, was very difficult, with constant conflict

between the developer and the Royal Fine Art Commission, which protected the existing views along Princes Street. When finally completed, the development had very few tenants, despite boasting the only significant food court/source of convenience food in the Princes Street region itself, and took several years before attracting a full complement of tenants. Plans were also developed to turn the North British Hotel into a mall/department store, although very little of the anticipated retailing was included in the final redevelopment of the hotel (Goad Plans, 1986).

The region has seen a dramatic shift in transport policies, with a great emphasis upon pedestrianisation, and concerted action to support the use of public transit and make the use of the private car as inconvenient as possible. The number of parking spaces around Princes Street continues to be cut, with a general emphasis against on street parking which has seen continued reduction in the numbers of parking spaces around Princes Street. It is anticipated that the majority of on-street parking will be replaced by off-street parking (Lothian Regional Council, 1994c).

Rose Street has been pedestrianised, and the sidewalks along Princes Street widened. It was eventually decided to completely reshape the traffic flow of the region, and route all private east-bound traffic away from Princes Street and along Queen Street. This allowed even more significant widening of the northern sidewalks along Princes Street, although it can be argued that they are still insufficient to meet current pedestrian demand. The construction of pedestrian plazas at the junction of Princes and Castle Streets and Princes and Queensferry Streets reinforces both the need and the new willingness to ensure the landscape is adapted to meet the needs of its dominant users: pedestrians. This policy has given priority to pedestrians and buses along Princes Street, and was complemented by the removal of through traffic from George St.

5.6: Change in the St. Giles region

The Old Town remains a significant public service centre, the focus of the city's university, governmental and legal institutions (City of Edinburgh District Council, 1997: p. 37). While the source of many jobs, the vast majority are filled

by commuters, and there are relatively high levels of local unemployment (Edinburgh Old Town Committee for Conservation and Renewal, 1990; Wajnikonis-Jack, 1987).

In the early 80s, the Old Town was clearly in decline, disfigured by vacancies and numbers of gap sites (City of Edinburgh District Council, 1997: p. 107). Only one department store remained in the region: the others had all closed within the previous five years, the result of competition from Princes Street, home to the remaining city centre department stores (and the St. James Centre in particular), combined with the near collapse of the local residential market. The construction of Cameron Toll in 1984 added to this decline, competing with shops in the South Side that had been too far from Princes Street and the Royal Mile to be affected by the more central changes.

The Edinburgh Old Town Committee for Conservation and Renewal was set up by the local Council in 1985 to improve the declining physical, social and economic conditions in the Old Town, which was becoming increasingly reliant upon the summer tourist trade (Edinburgh Old Town Committee for Conservation and Renewal, 1988). One of the principal objectives of the Committee was to stem the considerable population decline in the region, which by 1981 had reached its lowest recorded level, having dropped by a third in the preceding decade (City of Edinburgh District Council Planning Department, 1980).

With the passage of the Local Government (Miscellaneous Provisions) Scotland Act in 1981, which removed the requirement to reimburse the Council for grants used in improving or converting property, effectively subsidising rehabilitation, the private redevelopment of housing stock in the region took off. As a result, between 1981 and 1987 the total amount of housing stock in the region increased by 50% (Wajnikonis-Jack, 1987: p. 15), and by a further 20% between 86 and 89 (Edinburgh Old Town Committee for Conservation and Renewal, 1990). During this time the vacancy rate for the region's housing stock dropped by two thirds, from 25% to 8% between 1981 and 89. The percentage of housing stock owned by the Council in the region has halved, due to the combination of right to buy and considerable amounts of new

construction/redevelopment, led by the region's Housing Associations (Edinburgh Old Town Committee for Conservation and Renewal, 1990). This has resulted in the doubling of the local population of the Old Town to 6000 since the low of 3000 in 1981: the longer term goal is to double this again to approximately 10,000 (Edinburgh Old Town Committee for Conservation and Renewal, 1990).

With the beginnings of revitalisation in the Old Town, the Edinburgh Old Town Committee for Conservation and Renewal evolved from a catalyst of change to a co-ordinator of development (Edinburgh Old Town Committee for Conservation and Renewal, 1990: p. 3), and was subsequently merged with the Edinburgh Old Town Trust to form the Edinburgh Old Town Renewal Trust in 1991. The Trust would play a significant role in reshaping the Old Town, and the Royal Mile in particular, over the next decade as it disbursed significant funds that sparked the wholesale regeneration of much of the fabric of the Royal Mile and its environs.

The street was the backbone of these revitalisation efforts: buildings and closes develop from it, and are connected through it. By revitalising the street, it was believed the framework would be constructed for the wider economic revitalisation that followed. Revitalisation began with the comprehensive restoration of Cockburn Street and Victoria Street, where £8 million was spent to renovate and restore the frontage of sites, to refurbish shop-fronts (particularly through the construction of more 'appropriate' historic facades) and through streetscape improvements what included the relaying of cobblestones and the widening of sidewalks.

Similar efforts (at a cost of £11 million and rising) were begun to revitalise the South Bridge, although the results have been somewhat more patchy, as many businesses (particularly those on the west side of the street) have not participated in the redevelopment, despite the considerable subsidies on offer. Work in the South Side has focused primarily on the regeneration of residential neighbourhoods (City of Edinburgh District Council, 1993), with particular roles being played by the dominant institutions (particularly the University of Edinburgh and the Festival Theatre) in the region.

Considerable work has been done to improve the Royal Mile during the mid 90s, with particular investment in environmental improvements, including street furniture and the provision of tourist information. The long term plans advocate the complete pedestrianisation of much of the Royal Mile, particularly the area between the Lawnmarket and North Bridge. Street lighting has been upgraded, and all heavy traffic has been removed as part of a wider traffic calming plan that has included the construction of substantial new (wide) sidewalks between George IV Bridge and St. Mary's Street, and the pedestrianisation of the area around Hunter Square. (Lothian and Edinburgh Enterprise Ltd, 1994; Lothian Regional Council, 1994c). This work was expanded through the work of the Royal Mile Closes Initiative, which refurbished the 83 closes leading from the Royal Mile, providing lighting improvements, resurfacing, and repairing the building fabric where necessary (Edinburgh Old Town Renewal Trust, 1992). There has been additional emphasis on regeneration in the Cowgate, which lies just outside the St. Giles study region. It is expected that the construction of the Dynamic Earth, new hotels and the Scottish Parliament will have a substantial positive impact upon the Royal Mile and the Old Town.

5.7: The city today

As we have seen with the Old Town, visions of the street (and its uses) are central to the planning policies of Edinburgh today. Most significant perhaps is the willingness to invest substantial sums into the regeneration and revitalisation of existing street forms, to preserve the existing heritage and encourage local economic development. With the stated objective of preserving and reinforcing existing streetscapes, it is clear that the actions taken in the last decade have not only fundamentally reshaped Edinburgh, but have ensured the continued survival, if not prosperity, of the central core, in both the New and Old Towns (City of Edinburgh District Council, 1997).

Efforts to reshape the city continue, as part of broader government policy initiatives aimed at enhancing the attractiveness of the core, particularly against the threat posed by out of town developments (Scottish Office Development Department, 1996). The policies advocating improved shop-fronts, better access for pedestrians, and the development of a higher quality public realm are central

to the city's future plans to emphasise the uniqueness and ambience of the redeveloped centre (City of Edinburgh Council, 2000b). Through the Edinburgh Lighting Vision, landmarks throughout the city centre have been floodlit, particularly Calton Hill and dominant buildings along the Royal Mile.

Central to this redevelopment vision is the attraction of 'significant' brand name retailers, as apart of a putative scheme to transform George street into the 'Bond Street' of the North as part of a wider retail regeneration of the region, where many ex-office properties continue to be converted into retail and service uses (hotels, restaurants etc.) (City of Edinburgh District Council Economic Development Committee, 1998: p. 10). As part of this transition, much of the original Georgian appearance of George St. has been recovered through the removal of shop fronts and the restoration of building facades. (City of Edinburgh District Council, 1997: p. 12).

Coincident to the redevelopment of the urban fabric, there has been a greater emphasis upon safer city initiatives, with the provision of extra policing, CCTV and the development of the Clean Edinburgh 2000 programme to control litter and maintain the quality of the urban environment (City of Edinburgh District Council Economic Development Committee, 1998).

With the success of the removal of automobile traffic from the north carriageway along Princes Street, the Council now plans to remove it from south carriageway, removing cars completely from Princes Street (City of Edinburgh District Council Economic Development Committee, 1998; City of Edinburgh Council, 2000a). Given the similar success of pedestrianisation along the Royal Mile, it is anticipated that traffic may also be removed from between George IV Bridge and Cockburn St. (City of Edinburgh District Council Economic Development Committee, 1998).

The impact of the realisation of the importance of pedestrians by planners in the central areas cannot be underestimated. It is clear that the city cannot afford the space and the side-effects of continued automobile dominance. While Princes Street has long been recognised as a pedestrian centre, the recent actions to reduce traffic flows are considerably overdue, and have had significant positive

environmental impacts upon the region. The medieval core of the Old Town is thoroughly unsuited to automobiles, and the conflict between pedestrian and automobile will continue to escalate, particularly on the fringes of the Royal Mile, unless there is even more widespread pedestrianisation. It is clear however, that while pedestrianisation is laudable, it is no replacement for the public transit system which is so necessary if the traffic problems facing the Old Town are to be resolved. Until then, the Old Town will continue to be blighted by commuter traffic.

Integral to this reshaping of the urban streetscape has been a particular vision of authenticity which has guided development and change in very explicit ways. Through the control of site uses to the reconstruction of shop frontages and the imposition of highly detailed restrictions on shop signage, the council is articulating a very particular faux-historical vision of the city*. The emphasis upon removal of post-Georgian features, while perhaps understandable (e.g. in the cases of satellite dishes, non-Georgian fenestration) can be more broadly questioned by efforts to remove Victorian changes (City of Edinburgh District Council Planning Department, 1990).

5.8: Change and the Future of the Urban Street

The future of the centre of Edinburgh (which broadly covers the Princes Street study region and the Royal Mile segment of the St. Giles study region) has been one of the primary concerns of the local authority. While there is a now long established tradition of reinforcing the role of the centre of Edinburgh within the wider retail and urban hierarchy, there are competing forces, felt primarily through the threat of competition with other larger revitalising urban centres (primarily Glasgow and Newcastle/Gateshead) and through the perception that Edinburgh is unable to develop sufficient new retail spaces to absorb the ever-rising consuming potential of the local shopper.

* This belief that the authentic can be recreated moves the process of revitalisation away from that of preservation towards the creation of what Eco (1986) has described as 'hyperreality', in a process that places 'authenticity' squarely within the wider bounds of attempts to commodify the street.

It is felt that the threat to the central core posed by out of town developments, retail warehouses and superstores is relatively small, given the high convenience advantage the core has, its significant working population, the relatively low levels of car ownership in Edinburgh, the significant levels of spending brought into the core from the surrounding areas, through tourism, and through the numerous festivals and alternative cultural attractions the city has to offer. Other urban areas, however, provide markedly different forms of competition to Edinburgh.

With the increasing importance of spectacle and niche marketing, the city believes itself to be at a considerable competitive disadvantage with its rival urban competitors. The centre, while a World Heritage Site containing significant numbers of listed buildings within two important conservation areas, is highly constrained geographically, with few available avenues for growth. The core of the Princes Street region is bounded by the large private gardens north of Queen Street, while southwards development of Princes Street is constrained by legal restrictions on development. To the East, development is limited through the malevolent combination of the St. James Centre and the semi-abandoned Greenside complex which together straddle the western end of Leith Walk, with the additional impact of the derelict GPO building on the corner of Princes Street and North Bridge. Waverley Station acts as an effective barrier between Princes Street and the Royal Mile, for neither the Old Town nor the redeveloped Cockburn Street are connected via street retailing to Princes Street.

While the city core is simultaneously the centre of highly dynamic retail environment, it lacks the flexibility to respond to changes in the retail and real estate markets due to these overarching structural constraints, combined with the inevitable restrictions placed on redevelopment by the need to maintain conservation areas and the need for the preservation and 'authentication' of listed buildings. The constraints on development implicit in the heritage designations of the core and the physical constraints to expansion that surround it make it difficult to assemble larger sites within the core, where many sites are considerably smaller than many retailers would prefer. It is thus difficult to assemble the larger sites often demanded by retail tenants. The lack of local

parking spaces, combined with increasingly pedestrian oriented planning policies, has resulted in continuing and effective restraints upon automobile access for shoppers.

While the Council recognises that opportunities for substantial retail developments are highly limited (City of Edinburgh District Council, 1997), this has not hindered the regular development of plans for substantial retail developments within the city centre over the last twenty years (cf. City of Edinburgh Council Planning Department, 1999). Recognising the constraints on development around the urban core, the council has repeatedly sought to assuage rising demand. It has reinforced the position of retailing in the city centre by minimising the penetration of service uses within the primary shopping areas, and has pushed for existing office uses in the First New Town, especially along George Street, to be converted into retail or other complimentary uses (pubs, restaurants etc.). It has repeatedly pushed for comprehensive redevelopment in Rose Street, in an attempt to move the retail focus north and away from Princes Street and towards George Street. On a more substantial scale, the Council has repeatedly pursued large retail redevelopment opportunities, from the construction of the Waverley Centre in the early 80s, to attempts to convert the North British Hotel into a department store, through to the expansion of the St. James Centre in the mid 90s.

It has long been recognised that, realistically, the redevelopment of the St. Andrews Square Bus Station provides the only practical site for any substantial new retail redevelopment in and around the core, with plans to include a Harvey Nichols department store and to construct additional retail links with the St. James Centre (City of Edinburgh District Council, 1997). More ambitious long-term plans aim to convert substantial portions of the Waverley Station into retail use, although plans to revitalise the area have been frustrated by the listing of the station and the need to preserve the existing city skyline (City of Edinburgh Council, 2000d).

Most controversial of all, especially given the council's role as planner and investor, was the Princes Street Galleria (recently rejected after a public inquiry). This plan aimed to build an entirely new shopping street underneath the current

Princes Street roadway, linking existing basement-level retailing along Princes Street through the new development with the Waverley Centre (City of Edinburgh Council, 2000b).

Many of these larger development proposals present significant threats to the city centre. While it is universally recognised that the core suffers from severe traffic congestion that cannot easily be resolved, adding substantial retail and office floor-space is bound to exacerbate existing problems. With the council simultaneously planning to remove all cars from Princes Street, it is hard to see exactly how the transport issues associated with redevelopment and large increases in retail floor-space will be satisfactorily resolved. The rather cavalier approach to Princes Street, in particular to the significant changes the Galleria development would have upon the character of the region, including the destruction of a significant portion of Princes Street Gardens, highlights what may be the irreconcilable tensions between the council's role as advocate for development, and its role as maintainer of the city's heritage.

In particular, further development within the already highly-concentrated core would have substantial impacts upon not only the surroundings of Princes Street itself, but also upon retailers and residents of the Old Town, which hardly needs either the increased traffic or the additional retail competition from an enhanced Princes Street. It is hard to see how such developments square with the council's stated aims to protect the city as a World Heritage Site, to focus on the development of distinctive smaller shopping streets (Cockburn Street, High Street/Lawnmarket, and St. Mary's Street in particular), and to emphasise the role and status of traditional street frontages as part of a wider policy concerned with the maintenance and preservation of Edinburgh's streetscapes (City of Edinburgh District Council, 1997). It is questionable if the Council's stated policy of consolidating and expanding Princes Street's role as a focus for retail investment (City of Edinburgh District Council Economic Development Committee, 1998: p. 58) is in keeping with the Council's commitments to the remainder of the city core, and in particular to their commitments (and investments) in the Royal Mile and surrounding areas of the Old Town.

5.9: From Theory to the Street

Implicit within the planners' view of the street and its role is a thorough rejection of many modernist urban ideals. Gone is the vision of the street as a traffic machine: in its place is the street as the locus of local experience, where the pedestrian is dominant, public transport a necessity for urban survival, and historic urban forms and legacies paramount in the shaping and reshaping of the urban experience. Visions of architecture 'appropriate for the age' have shifted radically: gone is the sleek 'sign-free' modernist architecture of the International Style, in its place idealised and/or faux vernacular forms. While there is an undoubted interest in postmodern architecture, the emphasis within Edinburgh is squarely on the preservation and reuse of 'original' buildings, specifically with very particular interpretations of 'authentic' uses, styles, roles and designs.

The differences between the particular urban visions of postmodernism and those articulated by planners are both marked and significant. While the visions of the planners are heavily grounded in the needs and experiences of specific places, shaped by the need to address political and social concerns, they also reflect particularly idealised visions of the city, one where everyone has equal access to goods and services, where the city begins to work as a cohesive, logical whole, where planning acts as the first line of resistance in the continuing conflict between attempts by capital to shape the city in its own image and the needs of the local communities. While this reification of the local can be seen as a postmodern perspective, it is also clear that the focuses of planners differ markedly from those of many postmodern academics. In particular, emphases upon the state of the city, how it will be allowed to change, and how it will be reshaped, are rather different from focuses upon spectacle and the theoretical issues surrounding conceptions of consumption and the role of the mall.

Most obvious is the difference between these conceptions of the street. While too much postmodern analysis focuses upon the street as an environment within which people act, consume and experience, the visions of the planner shape this environment and realise it in the form that the consumer/ flâneur experiences. The emphasis upon the street, and the experience of the streetscape, mark the gulf between planners and postmodern theory, between theorisers of

consumption and the shapers of consumption. This emphasis upon changing the urban environment, upon reshaping it in very particular ways to achieve very particular goals is almost completely lost within the postmodern literature.

This is not, however, to say that this changing street is completely divorced or detached from postmodern visions of the city. Many conservation and architectural policies (listing in particular) rely heavily upon conceptions of authenticity (cf. Francaviglia, 1996). This is considerably expanded throughout the current planning framework for the study regions, with emphases upon appropriate uses (especially the conversion of eighteenth century housing from office/retail uses back to housing), appropriate design (through the adoption of detailed signage and shopfront policies and colour schemes) and the prioritising of the redevelopment or exposure of 'authentic' building frontages through the removal of Victorian and later additions, more rarely still through the process of facadism.

These policies are implemented through a framework that is explicit in its desire for control over the landscape, control that is necessary if official visions of authenticity are to be (simultaneously) imposed upon the street. Through specific and detailed manipulation of the street, local government seeks to define both appropriateness and authenticity: hence the control over both changing uses, where there is an assumption that retail uses are appropriate and authentic to particular environments, while other uses (services, foods etc.) may not be, or may need to be limited in number to preserve the authenticity of their surroundings.

Through the exercise of this control, specific senses of (historic) place are developed. In a highly modernist sense, this provides a sharp contrast between our experience of modernity and the 'authentic' landscape which contextualises this experience. This is perhaps one of the main aims of the process, for this tension between old and new heightens the urban experience (cf. Featherstone, 1992), and forms the basis for the wider place marketing strategies which have become integral to regeneration, tourism and leisure policies.

Questions of spectacle are also implicit in the planning process, although

working at smaller and more subtle scales than is the case with much of the academic scrutiny: the focus is on the experience of streetscape and the pedestrian flâneur, through the use of lighting to reinterpret and reinforce the presence and role of landmarks, and through the development of international cultural festivals, rather than the mega-mall and the corporate festival city.

It is clear that the city is changing, and changing markedly. While it is clear that modernist visions of the city, focused on technology, the automobile and development have been fundamentally rejected, it cannot necessarily be assumed that postmodern visions of the city are now (pre)dominant. As was the case with the modernist city, there is a significant gap between the urban (and in particular the academic) visions of the postmodern city, and the planned visions that are being imposed by local bodies. In particular, the evidence from Edinburgh clearly indicates that while consumption is clearly one of the dominant forces that shapes the urban experience (Crewe and Lowe, 1995; Sack, 1992), it is clear that it is not **the** dominant force reinterpreting the present city: undoubtedly that role within Scotland falls to the (theoretically marginalised) planner.

Chapter 6: Streets of Change, Streets of Stability, Streets of Homogeneity

This chapter takes a broad approach to the question of what the street is, was, and is becoming. It analyses the three broad themes that underlie much of the current discourse on the city and the street, namely a) Streets of Change, b) Streets of Stability, and c) Streets of Homogeneity/Streets of Variety. The broader analysis of the changing roles of leisure and services are explored in the following chapter, along with a detailed examination of the changing roles of chain stores and multiples within and across the two study Regions.

Somewhat in contrast to Chapter 7, there are rarely single indicators or issues that we can use as theoretical or methodological shortcuts to structure the analysis of the details of broader trends and themes of change within the data. As a result, the following sections use a number of different analyses, measurements and focuses on many different parts of the dataset to collectively flesh out the broader themes that are under analysis.

The first of the chapter's three sections focuses on the changing street. Much of the recent geographical literature, especially that influenced by the various discourses on restructuring, whether via the transition to a postfordist economy (Jameson, 1984; Harvey, 1987), the increased role of cultural differentiation (Zukin, 1990; De Oliver, 1996), or the increasing role of leisure in society (Eyles, 1989; Jansen, 1989; Rojek, 1995; Goss, 1996; Stallabrass, 1996) has revolved around the impact, nature and causes of recent urban change and restructuring. Attempts to generate broader narratives of change (e.g. Harvey, 1989a) are questioned by authors who question the universality of many discourses of change (Crewe and Lowe, 1995; Thrift, 1997), and who champion the study of change at local scales in order to better understand both the nature of the local impacts of wider processes, and in order to fundamentally question the validity of these narratives (Cooke, 1990; Zukin, 1990; Robins, 1993).

Massey in particular (1994: p. 127-31) has argued for the study of the local, arguing that processes of change not only act upon local neighbourhoods, but

are in turn shaped by them, and that many of the wider theoretical processes act at local levels and should therefore be studied at smaller spatial scales. Place itself can be conceptualised as a process, one which should be recognised as an "unstable and highly problematic site of contradictions" (Oakes, 1997).

This first section questions what 'change' actually means, how it can be defined, and how it can be measured. There are a number of different approaches that the data facilitates, each of which sheds light upon different aspects of the wider issues surrounding change. It is clear that while 'change' appears to be a relatively straightforward conceptual device, the reality of the street indicates that 'change' is often highly dependent upon how it is defined, the methods used in its analysis, and the scales that are used.

It has been argued that stability is the binary opposite of change (Berman, 1982; Oakes, 1997): the two are inter-linked and inter-related in a very fundamental way. Yet there are few historical studies of the street: arguably there are few historic studies of most consumption areas (Morris, 1988). The historical snapshot exists, often under the guise of a wide variety of different approaches, locations and interests (Conzen and Whitehand, 1981; Pacione, 1982; Whitehand, 1992), but the longer-term historical record is lacking (Crewe and Lowe, 1995; Hayden, 1995; Jackson and Thrift, 1995).

While the street is the focus of much research and comment (e.g. Lynch, 1960; Jacobs, 1961) analyses lack the historical rootedness and longer-term view of change that is necessary if we are able to visualise the stability (or lack of stability) that is a fundamental part of the street's urban character. Undoubtedly this is partly a question of scale, and partly a question of data, as the construction of retrospective local urban 'histories' is difficult, given the restrictions that exist in collecting and aggregating many of the existing data sets, while analysis of this data is neither straightforward nor technically undemanding. The construction of the database of Goad's aggregated street data gives us a means to develop these historical perspectives.

6.1: Streets of Change

The street is changing. Upon that we can all agree: but how it is changing, and why it is changing, are rather different sets of questions. What actually **is** change? Is it changes in the types of goods and services provided, changes in site boundaries, changes in individual occupants, changes in the overall makeup and composition of the street? Increasingly, as we move through the analysis it becomes clear that 'change' is a multifaceted concept that can be described in many ways, none of them definitive in and of themselves.

Analyses of change are based upon detailed scrutiny of the occupant, use and persistence (i.e. how long it exists at a location) data for each site. Changes in the wider patterns of site usage are identified through study of the changing Broad Usage Classification (BUC) of the two Regions, in which sites were classified into 'retail', 'leisure', 'services', 'institutional' and 'other'. Sites were also classified by capital type (chains etc.) and whether they were multiples, and this data was used to highlight the changing composition of the street and the nature of its change.

Changes in the actual uses of individual sites were studied by analysis of both Goad's use data, and by the study of a Condensed Usage Classification (CUC) which aggregated many of Goad's uses into broader and more consistent groupings of uses. This data was then used to examine how overall uses in the street were changing and whether any specific trends were identifiable in the site data, and were also used as one of several means of unpacking the concepts behind the idea of 'homogeneity' and questioning whether the overall variety of site uses was declining.

Multiple scales are analysed (where appropriate) by interpreting the data at both the Regional level (i.e. that of the St. Giles Region, the Princes Street Region) and at the smaller geographical scale of the sixteen and eleven smaller Areas into which the Regions were subdivided.

To develop a greater understanding of the changing street, this section looks at several possible definitions of change. Firstly, and perhaps most obviously, is

an analysis of changes to the physical streetscape itself. This is followed by eight analyses of site change, five focusing broadly on changing site occupants and three on changing site uses. The analyses explore the rate of occupant change, developing these results by focusing on sites of rapid change. The role of vacancies as indicators of perceptions of change in the street are explored, as is the impact of occupant movement within the study Regions as a factor contextualising the wider and more generic concept of 'change'. Rather than focusing solely on the sites that have changed, the sites that have closed are examined in some detail, to determine if any clear patterns of site usage can be detected. From this, the composition of sites which exhibit significant levels of repeated change are analysed, before moving onto broader analyses of the occupant and use change in each Region, before focusing on the changing nature of the broader use classifications. This is followed by more detailed analyses of the changing patterns of individual uses within each Region.

6.1.1: The Changing Fabric of the Streetscape

Broadly speaking, when we analyse the Goad data in an attempt to understand the changing nature of the built street, it becomes obvious that there were essentially two distinct types of change: that specifically mentioned in the Goad data, and that **implied** by Goad, i.e. site changes that go un-remarked in the Goad maps. While the Goad datasets provide some information on changing sites, analysis shows that the changes Goad explicitly mentions are dwarfed by the implied change Goad omits.

Table 6.1 shows the aggregated data for site changes. It shows two sets of data: changes explicitly identified by Goad (construction, demolition, renovation etc.), and boundary changes implied by change between successive iterations of the Goad maps. As is clear from the data, there are considerably larger numbers of boundary changes overall than there are reported site modifications. If the substantial numbers of occupant and use changes (1844 in the St. Giles and 1130 in the Princes Street Regions over the length of the study period) are added, then it becomes clear that Goad data for each **individual** year cannot be used as an accurate indicator of the nature of the changing streetscape, as the explicit changes highlighted in the Goad maps can be taken to represent, on average,

approximately a third of the physical changes in the St. Giles Region, and 16% of the changes in the Princes Street Region.

	St. Giles		Princes Street	
Survey Date	Goad reported site alterations	Goad site boundary changes	Goad reported site alterations	Goad site boundary changes
July 1979	1	16	3	18
July 1980	9	13	0	26
October 1981	17	41	0	5
October 1982	17	13	3	13
November 1983	1	3	2	6
November 1984	10	38	3	31
December 1985	7	34	2	17
January 1987	9	17	1	16
September 1987	9	7	1	5
January 1989	1	18	2	14
November 1989	4	16	3	10
November 1990	4	15	3	10
November 1991	3	19	7	24
November 1992	1	17	3	9
November 1993	4	16	0	2
November 1994	7	13	2	12
Total:	104	296	35	218

Table 6.1: Explicit and implicit site change within the Goad data

If we accept the inference in the data that site changes explicitly identified by Goad covers only internal modifications within each site's boundaries, assuming that every change of occupant or change in site use entails some degree of site change or modification, then the site modifications explicitly highlighted in Goad's data represent only 4.9% of all the changes in the St. Giles Region and 2.6% of the changes in the Princes Street Region.

The Goad data does not provide a particularly complete source of information on the changing streetscape, although considerable amounts of implicit information are contained within the data itself. This points out the importance both of correlating each year's Goad data with that from the preceding and succeeding years, and the need to complement the Goad data with other data from other sources if a complete picture of the changing urban fabric is to be constructed.

6.1.2: Rates of Change

One of the characteristic descriptions of the modern city is of a rapidly, ever changing, unstable hyper-experience (Jameson, 1984; Baudrillard, 1988b; Featherstone, 1992; Gottdiener, 1995). In overall terms, when looking at the two study Regions, it is clear from Figure 6.1 that while there are annual variations in the rate of occupant change*, the overall rate of change is relatively constant, averaging 16% for the St. Giles Region and 15.2% for the Princes Street Region†.

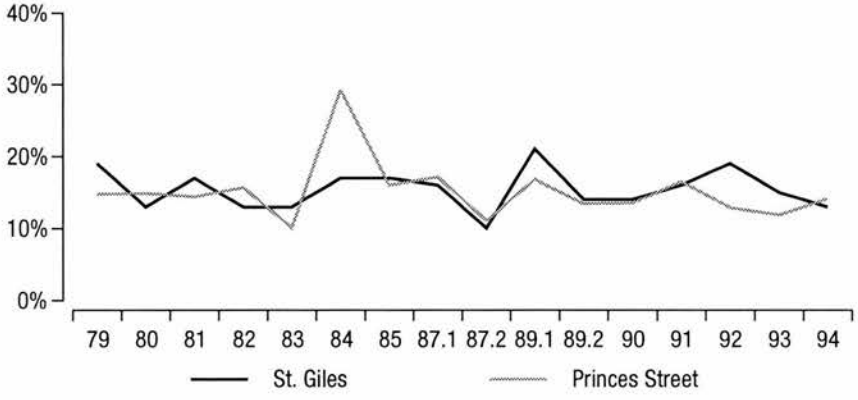


Figure 6.1:Rate of site/occupant change of all sites, 1978-94

Looking at the change data on a pseudo-annual and Regional basis does to some considerable degree obscure the geographical variations of rates and types of change within the dataset. As can be seen from Figure 6.2, the annual data for occupant change in the St. Giles Regions that is aggregated in Figure 6.1 actually conceals the considerable variations within the data.

* As we begin to further analyse change within the dataset, some distinctions between types of change rapidly break down completely. While it is possible to identify and track some aspects of change (e.g. site boundary changes), when we speak of 'overall' rates of change, we are in fact invariably collating occupant, use and site boundary changes.

† The spike in the figure for the Princes' Street data from 1984 was caused by the expansion of dataset to reflect changes in the Goad data: this one-time change is visible in many of the subsequent diagrams.

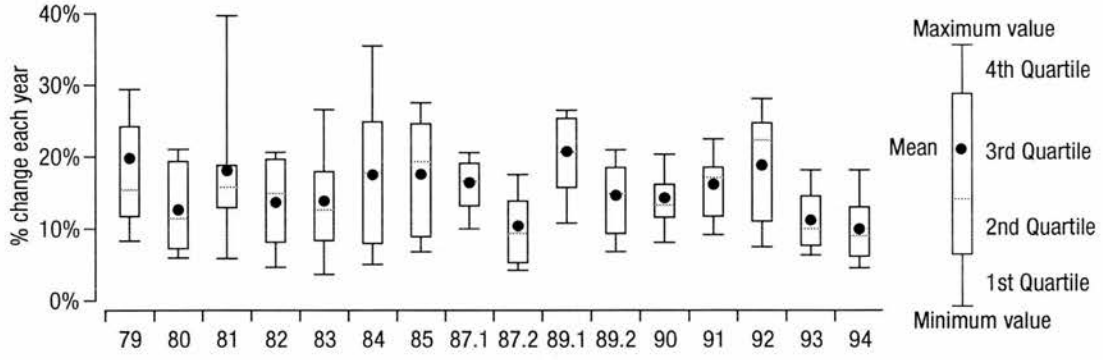


Figure 6.2: Rates of Area site/occupant change, St. Giles 1979-94

As Figure 6.2 shows, the annual change data for each year contains considerable variations both in the rates of change for the 16 Areas that make up the St. Giles Region, especially in comparison to the average rates of change for the Region*, and in the annual variations in the minimum and most noticeably the maximum rates of change for each of the Areas. It is clear from this breakdown of the data that every year a number of these Areas show very low rates of change (i.e. less than 10% per year), while considerable numbers show only moderate (less than 20% per year) rates of change. There are however large annual variations both in the largest amounts of change seen from year to year and in the numbers of Areas with significant amounts of change.

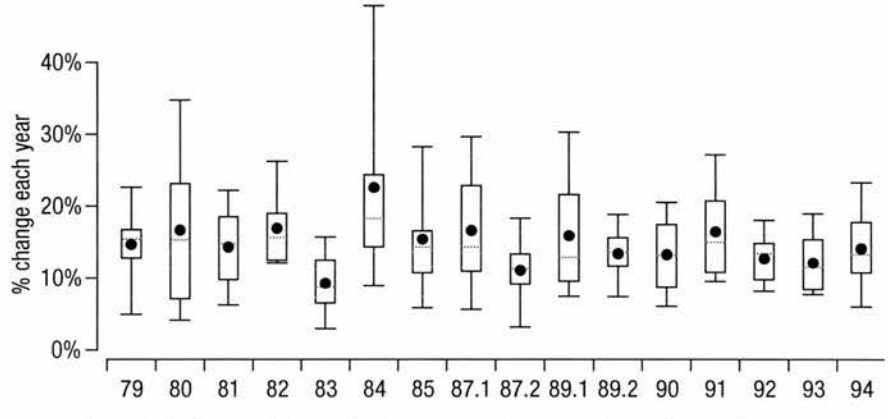


Figure 6.3: Rates of Area site/occupant change, Princes Street 1979-94

In comparison with the St. Giles data, the results from the Princes Street dataset (shown in Figure 6.3) also show considerable variations in the local rates of change, although the annual variations are markedly smaller than those of the

* As indicated by the bullet (•) character.

St. Giles Areas, and the data show somewhat more clustering around the average rate of change for the Region than is the case for the St. Giles Region.

If instead of looking at patterns of change at an annual basis we look at the change data on an Area by Area basis, a somewhat different pattern of change becomes clear.

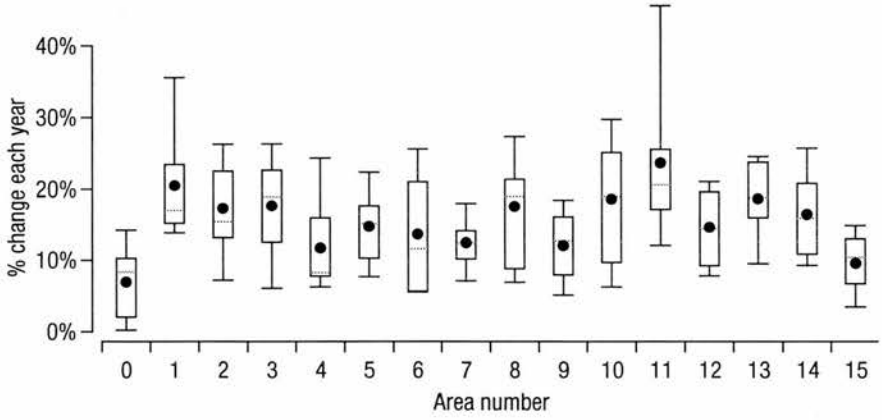


Figure 6.4: Rates of site/occupant change within each Area, St. Giles 1979-94

From Figure 6.4, it is clear that there appear to be some substantial (and perhaps more importantly) consistent variations between the patterns of change in the different geographical Areas, with some showing significantly lower rates of change, both in terms of the average annual amounts of change and in terms of the overall variations between the survey years. Nonetheless, for most Areas there are still considerable variations between the rates of change during the survey period, a pattern which becomes clearer when compared with the Princes Street results summarised in Figure 6.5.

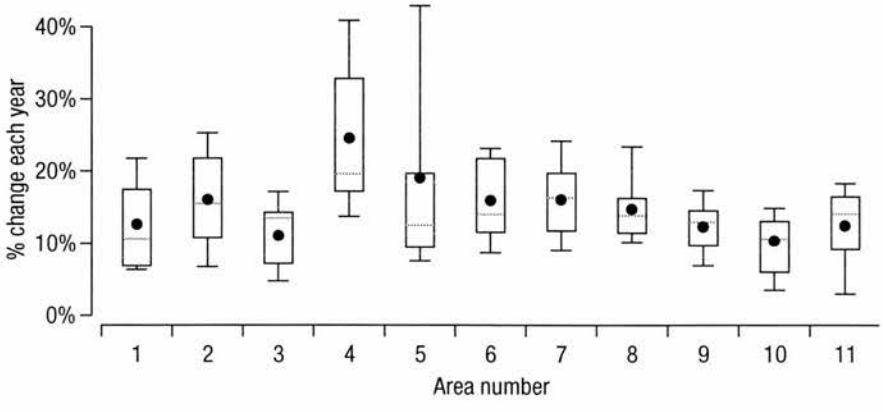


Figure 6.5: Rates of site/occupant change within each Area, Princes Street 1979-94

It is clear from the Princes Street data that the overall variations in the annual

rates of change within each Area over the 17 years are somewhat lower than in the St. Giles Region, with the only significant Area variations coming in Area 4, whose data is somewhat skewed in that it shows the initial opening and early years of a shopping mall, and Area 5 which shows the effects of substantial expansion due to changes in the Goad dataset. Otherwise, the Princes Street Areas show relatively consistent rates of change with rather fewer examples of higher rates of change.

It is clear from this data that patterns of change in the St. Giles Areas are somewhat different to those in the Princes Street Areas, and that the Princes Street Areas show somewhat more consistent rates of change, in that the Area data exhibit considerably less dramatic fluctuations in the overall rates of change.

From the variations revealed in this data, we can tell that change varies considerably not only over time, as we would expect, but also that looking at aggregated measures of change inevitably runs the risk of obscuring the possibility of significant variations in the rates of change within the constituent geographic areas that is highlighted by this data. Attempts to develop overarching narratives of change, even at this fairly small scale, will necessarily rely upon data collation that will inevitably subsume and to a degree obscure the details of more local patterns of change and development. Hence these broader perspectives should be regarded as somewhat problematic, for while it is arguably vital to aggregate local details to facilitate the construction of broader urban narratives, this points towards the necessity of also focusing at these smaller scales as well, for these micro-narratives, even if atypical of the wider patterns of change, are still significant in shaping the character and experience of the street.

6.1.3: The rapidly changing street

Within the context of declining overall rates of change, analysis of **Area** rates of change reveals that there are significant variations between the rates of change over both areas and time. Significantly, the overall patterns of change hide significant and substantial variations in rates of change that reveal numerous and

dramatic changes at street level. Figure 6.6 is a histogram showing the percentage change of all **individual** Areas in both study Regions over the period of analysis.

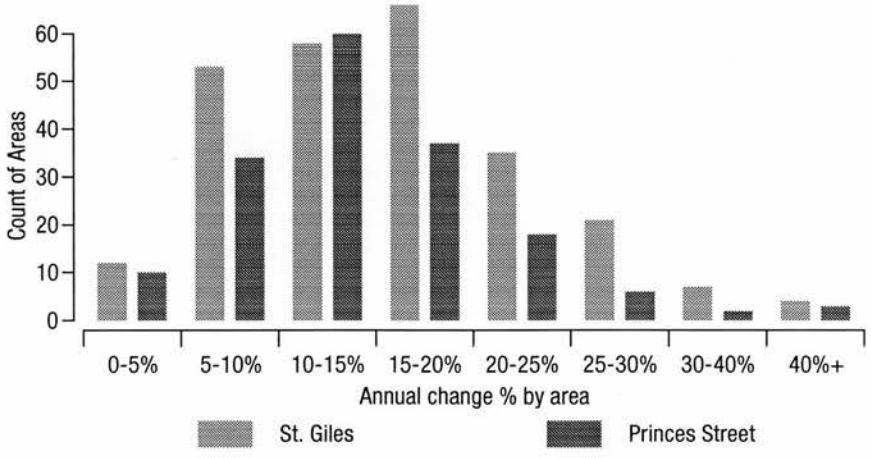


Figure 6.6: Rates of annual change, 1979-94

This emphasises the substantial variations in the rates of change at these smaller scales, ranging from zero to maximums of 60% per annum for the St. Giles Areas and 69.8% for the Princes Street Areas.

Annual % change	St. Giles	Princes Street
0-10%	26.2%	27.6%
10-20%	47.3%	57.3%
20%+	26.6%	15.1%

Table 6.2: Summary of rates of change, by Area, 1979-94

Within this range, the majority of sites show annual rates of change of between zero and 20% (Table 6.2). However, 26.6% of the St. Giles Areas show rates of change of above 20%, compared to only 15.1% of the Princes Street Areas. This confirms the hypothesis that the overall rates of change often obscure a number of dramatic and substantial changes in the local streets. From this we can infer that a substantial part of the **perception** of the rapidly changing street is directly related to the relatively high frequency of substantial levels of change at the local street level, even if these high levels of change are not reflective of the wider patterns and rates of change*.

* This does however marginalise the impact of changes to significant sites/occupants.

Figure 6.7 shows a year by year breakdown of the frequency where the smaller Areas in the two Regions show rates of change of 20% and higher. In broader terms this subset of the data is closely related to that in Figure 6.1, in that it is effectively an exaggerated version of the overall picture of change, which accentuates the variations hidden within the presentation of results from the complete data set.

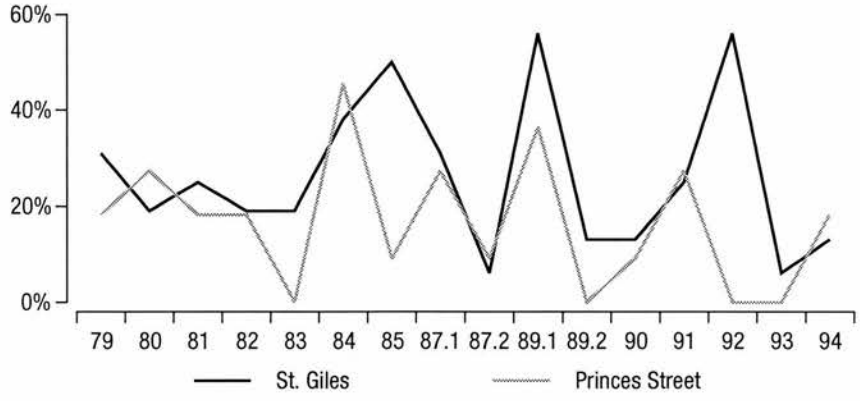


Figure 6.7: Percentage of Areas in each Region whose rates of change exceeded 20%, 1979-94

This particular sub-set of results provides some basis to argue that the rate of change overall is actually increasing, rather than relatively static as represented in Figure 6.1, given this evidence that the street is occasionally subject to sudden and intense changes. It should be noted that the steep declines in numbers of Areas with rates of change of over 20% in late 1987 and late 1989 are caused by the very short time between successive surveys, and do not necessarily indicate significant variations in these local rates of change.

6.1.2: The Vacant Street

Vacancies are arguably one of the key perceptual indicators of a street in transition. Figure 6.8 shows that overall percentage of vacancies was broadly consistent within each of two study Regions during the study period.

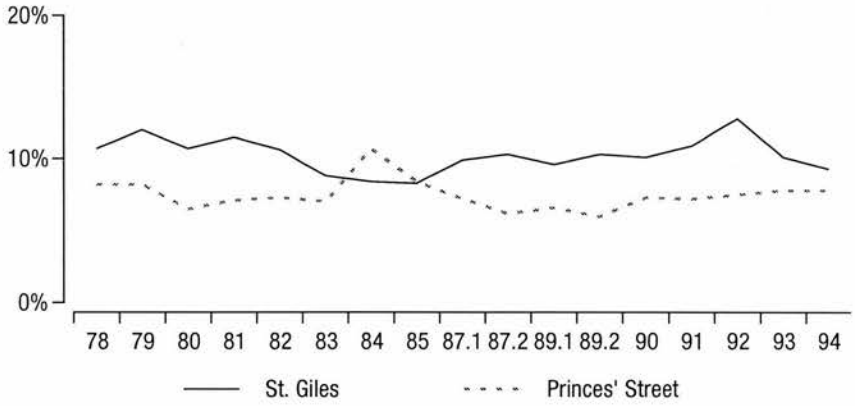


Figure 6.8: Vacancies, 1978-94

There are some significant overall variations between the two Regions: only six times does the St. Giles vacancy rate drop below 10%, while on only one occasion, in 1984, does the Princes Street vacancy rate surpass 8.5%, whereas the St. Giles vacancy rate only drops below this level twice. Analysis of the Princes Street data at an Area level indicates that the single time vacancies in the Princes Street Region rose above 8.5 % (to 10.7%) was in response to the opening of the Waverly Shopping Centre, which was 59% vacant at the time of the survey: these vacancies in turn accounted for 52% of **all** of the vacancies in the Princes Street Region in 1984. Numerous vacancies in the Waverly Centre continued to inflate the overall Princes Street vacancy rate for the next two years.

If we contextualise the role of vacancies by ranking them against all other classifications of site uses, the role of vacancies and more importantly how they may be perceived within the street becomes substantially clearer.

	St. Giles		Princes St.	
	Rank	%	Rank	%
January 1978	1	10.7%	3	8.2%
July 1979	1	12.0%	3	8.2%
July 1980	1	10.7%	3	6.5%
October 1981	1	11.5%	3	7.1%
October 1982	1	10.6%	3	7.3%
November 1983	2	8.8%	3	7.0%
November 1984	2	8.4%	2	10.7%
December 1985	2	8.3%	2	8.4%
January 1987	1	9.9%	3	7.2%
September 1987	1	10.3%	3	6.2%
January 1989	1	9.6%	3	6.6%
November 1989	1	10.3%	3	6.0%
November 1990	1	10.1%	3	7.3%
November 1991	1	10.9%	3	7.2%
November 1992	1	12.8%	3	7.5%
November 1993	1	10.1%	3	7.8%
November 1994	1	9.3%	3	7.8%

Table 6.3: Rank by frequency and percentage of 'Vacancy' amongst all uses*, 1978-94

As can be seen from Table 6.3, vacancies represent not only one of the dominant land-uses within the survey Regions, but in the St. Giles' Region represent **the** single most dominant 'use' (in numerical terms) over the length of the study period, there being 23% more vacant sites than there were clothing sites, the second most common site use.

It is clear that vacant sites have an important role in the streetscape. This data indicates that the large numbers of vacant sites continues to reinforce the inference that the street is undergoing substantial and constant change. Given that there are consistently high levels of vacancies, and that vacancies represents a dominant site use, it is clear that vacancies play a significant role in emphasising the perception of the street as a constantly changing and dynamic entity.

* This data uses the Condensed Usage Classification (CUC). If the Goad use classification had been used, vacancies would have been the top use for 16 years in both regions.

6.1.5: Moving occupants

Close analysis of the Goad data enables us to track the change and movement of similarly-named occupants and multiples within the study Regions, and to identify when occupants either move or expand into additional premises. In practice, making a distinction between occupants moving or expanding became very difficult and highly arbitrary: if an occupant appeared to leave (or no longer occupy) an existing a site and appeared in a new location, it was classed as having moved, while if it appeared to expand to a second site (while still occupying the first) and then closed the original site the following year, they were classified as having moved, otherwise the new occupancy of multiple sites was classified as an expansion. The data presented below includes moves (etc.) within each Region and also includes movement between the Regions.

While the classification is admittedly arbitrary, it indicates somewhat different patterns of movement and expansion occur within and between the two study Regions.

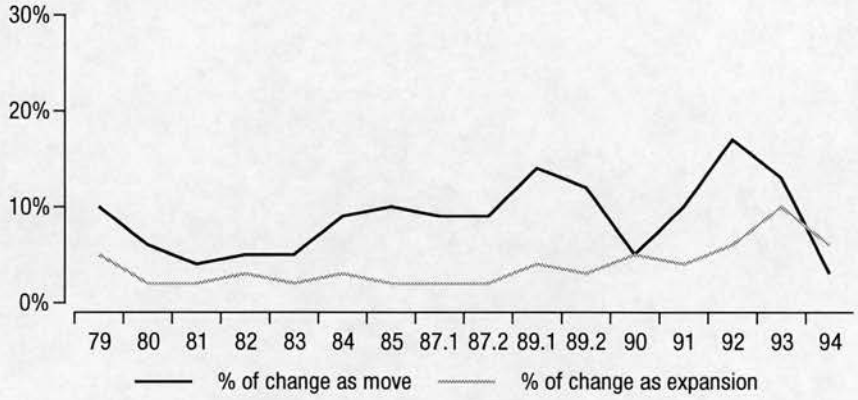


Figure 6.9: Percentage of all site change in the St. Giles Region that can be attributed to occupants moving or creating multiples, 1978-94

The St. Giles data shows both a low level of movement within the Region, coupled with an almost immediate decline in the numbers of occupants moving or expanding within the Region. This decline parallels the decline in the number of local multiples in the Region, and the numbers slowly recover during the mid 80s somewhat contemporaneously with the recovery in the number of local multiples. By the end of the study period, levels of movement have risen markedly to levels that are almost typical of the Princes Street data. The number

of site changes due to expansion, however, remains low.

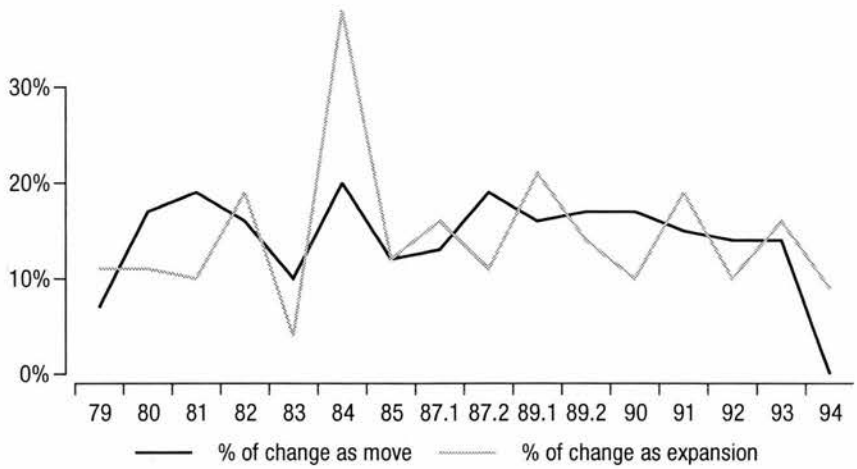


Figure 6.10: Percentage of all site change in the Princes Street Region that can be attributed to occupants moving or creating multiples, 1978-94

The Princes Street data show a remarkably different pattern of site changes. As indicated by Figure 6.10, substantial amounts (29% on average) of the overall amounts of change are directly attributable to sites moving within the Region or expanding. Overall it should be recognised that despite questions about the methodological differences between creation of the two classifications, the results, when combined, indicate that the movement and change of existing sites represents a considerable proportion of all of the change in each study Region.

This data shows a considerable latency/stability of the Princes Street Region, and we may infer from this that there is a desire for existing occupants to remain and invest in the immediate area. While a considerable amount of the observed change is movement within the Princes Street Areas, there is also a significant amount of movement into the Princes Street Region from the St. Giles Region. This can be seen as an indicator of the relative health and desirability of the on-street economy in the Princes Street Areas in comparison to the St. Giles Areas. We can also infer from this material that these high levels of movement and expansion within the Princes Street Region may represent a de facto barrier to the entry of new occupants and uses from outside the study Regions in the face of competition from pre-existing occupants for limited local spaces.

6.1.6: Change and the Previous Occupants

While it is usual to study how things have changed by analysing what they have become, the nature of the database that was compiled during this research has allowed an analysis of what the changed sites actually were in the years **before** they changed.

The dataset provided information on 3190 sites that changed during the course of the study period. This includes 976 sites from the 1978 dataset which closed* at some point during the next seventeen years (and whose length of site occupation cannot be accurately determined) and 2214 sites whose occupants have both appeared **and** disappeared during the course of the study.

	St. Giles		Princes Street	
	Avg. % of closed sites	Avg. % of all sites	Avg. % of closed sites	Avg. % of all sites
Institutional	3%	7%	2%	3%
Leisure	12%	16%	11%	13%
Other (excluding vacancies)	4%	10%	2%	9%
Retail	49%	50%	50%	53%
Services	5%	8%	8%	15%
Vacancies	28%	9%	27%	7%

Table 6.4: Broad Usage Classification of closed sites, 1978-93

	St. Giles		Princes Street	
	Avg. % of closed sites	Avg. % of all sites	Avg. % of closed sites	Avg. % of all sites
Chain	3%	5%	14%	18%
Chain multiples	7%	10%	15%	22%
Non-chain multiples	5%	4%	9%	6%
Not multiple, not chain	84%	82%	62%	53%

Table 6.5: Capital classification of closed sites, excluding vacant sites, 1978-93

Table 6.4 and Table 6.5 show that broadly speaking, the composition of the closed sites broadly reflects that of the Regional average, albeit with somewhat higher rates of closure of non chain/multiple sites in both Regions, more noticeably so in the Princes Street Region. In both Regions the clear majority of sites who closed were neither chains nor multiples, which may reinforce a

* 'Closed' sites refers to occupants who no longer appear in the dataset at the same geographical site, having closed, moved or relocated for any reason.

perception that chains or multiples are more persistent, even though this data questions this assumption.

The data for the 'Other' use classification has been broken down for both Regions to show the role of vacant sites in site change. Over a quarter of new sites occupy previously vacant sites (in both Regions), which indicates that while vacancies may be a significant indicator of change in themselves, in overall terms they do not represent a dominant factor in the overall dynamic of change, and must be contextualised as part of a wider pattern of change.

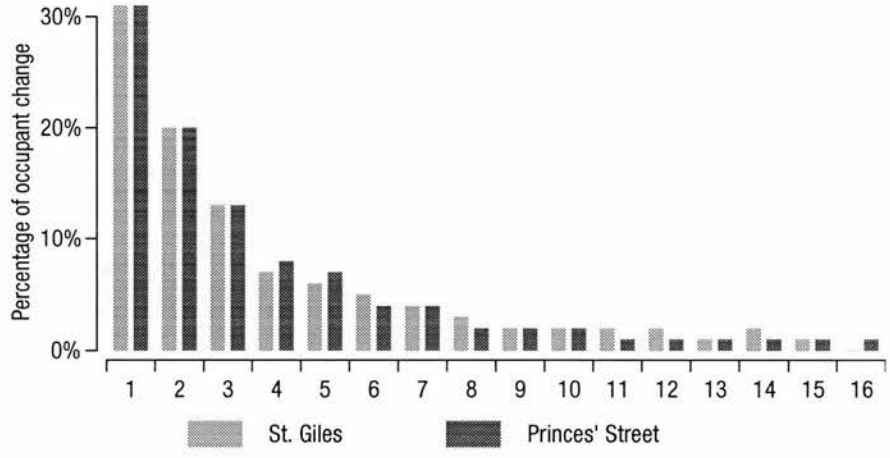


Figure 6.11: Age profile of all ex-occupants in years, 1978-93

While this use classification profile of these sites is broadly representative of overall patterns of site use, an analysis of the **age** profile of these changed sites identifies a significant trend. As Figure 6.11 shows, 65% of all the site changes happen in sites that have been previously occupied for three years or less, and almost 80% of all change has occurred in sites that were occupied for less than five years.

It was felt that it was possible that this profile of the changed sites generated from the Goad data might be somewhat unrepresentative of the actual profile of changed sites, given that the data shown in Figure 6.11 cannot include accurate age data for the 1978 sites which subsequently changed, (which represents 30% of the total number of changed sites) as it is obviously not possible to generate

this information from the Goad dataset*. As a result, the data was recalculated to adjust for this potential inaccuracy: the impact of this is shown in Table 6.6 and Table 6.7.

St. Giles Age of closed sites (in years)	% of all closed sites		% of all closed sites appearing after 1978		% of all non vacant closed sites appearing after 1978	
0-1	36%		41%		32%	
1-2	18%		22%		21%	
2-3	12%		13%		15%	
		66%		75%		68%
3-4	6%		7%		8%	
4-5	5%		5%		7%	
		78%		87%		83%
5-6	4%		4%		5%	
6-7	4%		3%		4%	
7-8	2%		2%		2%	
8-9	2%		2%		3%	
10+	7%		3%		3%	

Table 6.6: Age of closed sites, St. Giles, 1978-93

When the data was adjusted to remove the sites that existed in 1978, the trend that had been identified was reinforced, rather then diluted as had been expected before the data was re-analysed. According to this data, 75% of all the sites in the St. Giles Region during the period 1979 to 1993 that changed had been occupied for three years or less, and that 87% of the total change was in sites that had been occupied for five years or less. More importantly, 41% of all site change could be linked to sites that had been occupied for only one year.

As it was thought that these results could be heavily influenced by the significant numbers of vacancies in the St. Giles Areas (cf. Table 6.3), it was felt that the data should also be adjusted to take account of this by equating occupancy change with the changing of the site's occupant, and excluding the vacating of the site from the list of changes. While this did reduce the overall proportion of change in these very recently closed sites by almost a quarter, it is

* The age profile shown in Figure 6.11 includes data which shows the length of time the 1978 sites remained in the study, rather than their actual age: as such it underestimates the length of time these sites existed.

still significant that almost a third (32%) of all site change happens in sites that have been occupied for less than a year, and that some 68% has happened within sites occupied for less than three years.

In contrast to the St. Giles data, the changes in the results for the Princes Street Region due to both types of re-classification produced little substantial change from the initial results. There is the same general pattern of change: approximately a third of all of the site change in the Princes Street Region occurs in sites that have been occupied for a year or less, and almost two thirds (64%) was sites that were occupied for three years or less.

Princes Street Age of closed sites (in years)	% of all closed sites	% of all closed sites appearing after 1978	% of all non vacant closed sites appearing after 1978
0-1	35%	34%	29%
1-2	19%	17%	21%
2-3	12%	10%	14%
	65%	61%	64%
3-4	8%	6%	10%
4-5	6%	5%	10%
	80%	72%	83%
5-6	4%	3%	5%
6-7	3%	2%	4%
7-8	2%	1%	2%
8-9	2%	1%	2%
10+	7%	2%	4%

Table 6.7: Age of closed sites, Princes Street, 1978-93

It is clear that while in overall terms the street is constantly changing, overall, site change is concentrated disproportionately in sites with new or relatively new occupants.

6.1.7: The Constantly Changing Street

Given the concentration of change in sites with relatively new occupants, it was decided to calculate exactly how many different occupants each site had, as it was felt that this data would complement the previous analyses.

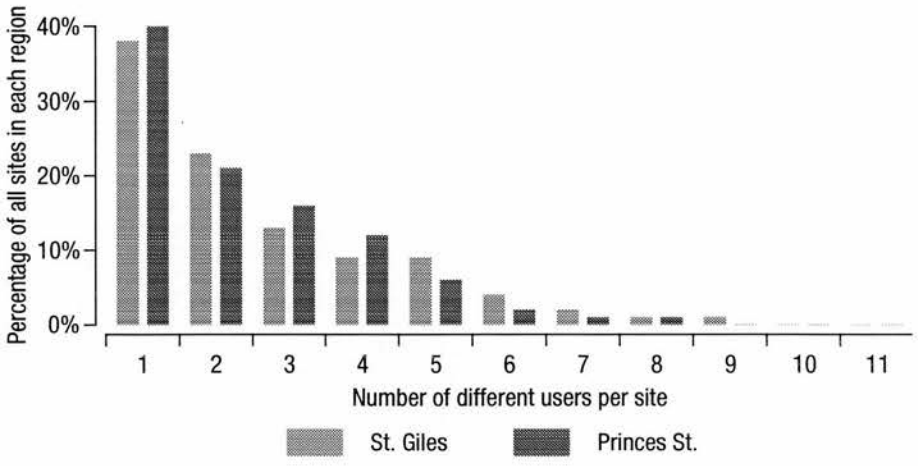


Figure 6.12: Numbers of Users per site, 1978-94

Figure 6.12 shows the data for the numbers of different users per site for both of the study Regions. On average, each site in both the St. Giles and Princes Street Regions was occupied by 2.5 occupants. While the majority of sites (over 60% in both Regions) have had only one or two occupants, the data shows that significant numbers of sites have had large numbers of occupants. When the data was analysed it became clear that 26% of all sites in the St. Giles Region had had four or more occupants, while some 20% of the Princes Street sites met the same criteria, indicating that a significant part of the street undergoes repeated change.

Because of this we would expect these high-change sites to represent a significant amount of the total amounts of site change in both Regions. In the St. Giles Region these sites accounted for some 39% of the **total** amount of change across all the sites in the Region: for the Princes Street sites, the number is even higher with these sites accounting for 43% of all the recorded site change in the Region. It is clear that these sites represent a significant concentration of change within the wider changing street.

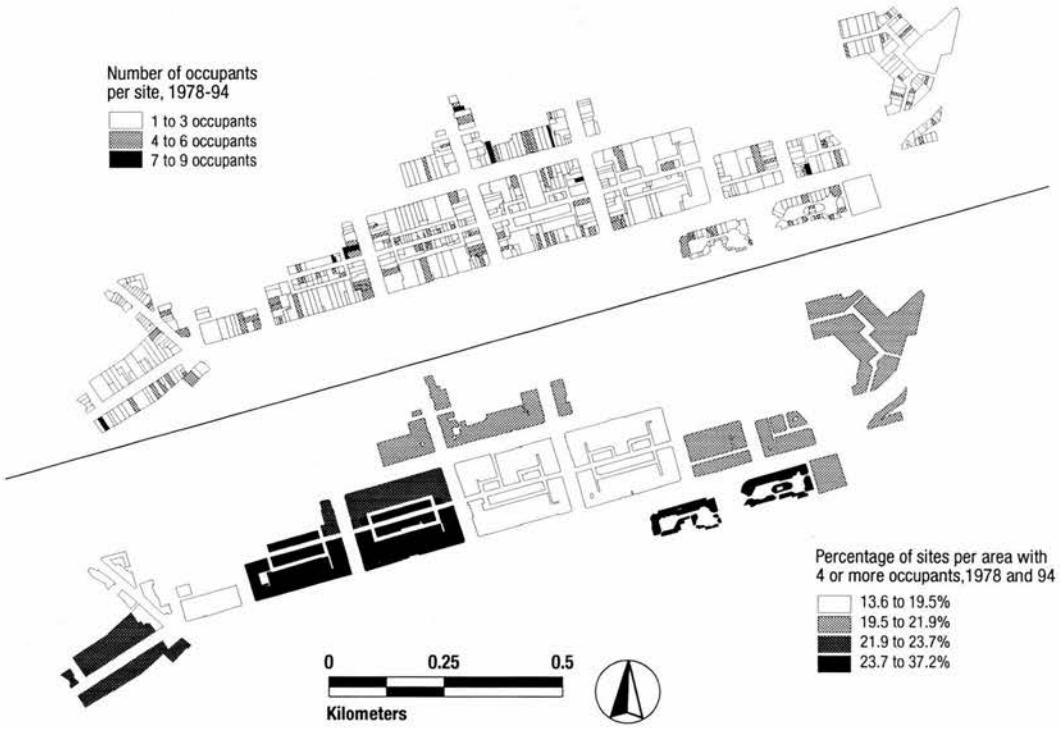
When this data is mapped, it becomes clear that there is a significant amount of geographical clustering of these sites. As Map 6.1 shows, there are five Areas within the St. Giles Region with between 30% and 50% of all the Area's sites having had four or more occupants. With the exception of the central Area (Area 0), which is primarily institutional buildings, only one other Area has a low percentage of these high-occupant sites.

A significant concentration of these sites are to be found in Areas 1,2 and 5, which represent the main tourist areas of the Royal Mile and the Lawnmarket, where 30% of all the sites have had four or more occupants, values which may be partly due to the significant levels of new construction and renovation in these Areas. This illustrates however just how significant and repeated have been the changes in these Areas, which are marked by their high level of relative instability in comparison both to other Areas in the Region and to the Princes Street Areas.

Map 6.1: Sites with 4 or more occupants, St. Giles, 1978-94

In contrast, the data for the Princes Street Areas (Map 6.2) indicates that despite having a higher overall percentage of these particular multi-occupant sites, the Region shows a more even geographical distribution of these sites than does the St. Giles Areas, with a markedly lower maximum concentration of 37%, compared to a peak concentration of 49% in St. Giles. In only two Areas are these very active sites more than 30% of total number of sites, and one of these is the Waverly Centre, which was marked by extremely high levels of occupant

change, repeated site renovation and substantial vacancy rates, compared to five Areas with substantial proportions (30% and higher) of these active sites in the St. Giles Region. In contrast, there are four Areas in the St. Giles Region where these active sites represent less than 20% of all sites, compared to two in the Princes Street Region, which emphasises the broader and more even distribution of these sites in the Princes Street Region.



Map 6.2: Sites with 4 or more occupants, Princes Street, 1978-94

It was thought that the general profiles of these high-occupant sites might indicate that they were in some ways different from the 'average' site, in terms of the broad classification of their occupants' uses, the number of chains and multiples present, and their occupant's use profiles.

	St. Giles		Princes Street	
Broad Use Classification	4+ occupant sites	Avg. of all sites	4 + occupant sites	Avg. of all sites
Institutional	2%	7%	2%	3%
Leisure	15%	16%	15%	13%
Other	16%	19%	13%	17%
Retail	60%	50%	61%	53%
Services	7%	8%	10%	15%

Table 6.8: BUC Classification of 4+ occupant sites, 1978-94

As can be seen from Table 6.8, the Broad Use Classification (BUC) profile of these sites is remarkably similar to the average BUC profile for each of the two Regions, although as might be expected the percentage of these sites classified as retail was somewhat higher than the overall average.

	St. Giles		Princes Street	
Capital Classification	4 + occupant sites	Avg. of all sites	4 + occupant sites	Avg. of all sites
Chain	3%	5%	15%	18%
Chain-multiple	7%	10%	15%	22%
Non-chain multiple	5%	4%	9%	6%
Not multiple, not chain	85%	82%	61%	53%

Table 6.9: Capital classification of sites with 4 or more occupants, 1978-94

More significant differences between these high-occupant sites and the average site can be seen in the analysis of the capital classification of the sites in Table 6.9. While the figures for the St. Giles sites are comparable to the average, this is perhaps not surprising given the low percentages of chains and multiples in the Region in the first place: it may be the case that the sample size is too small to allow the accurate identification of patterns within the data. What is noticeable is that more non-chain multiples (i.e. local multiples) are present in this sample than might be expected. This particular observation also holds true for the Princes Street sites. More significant perhaps is the substantial difference between the average numbers of chain-multiples in the Princes Street Region and the number in the high-occupant sites, which implies either that these sites of high transition may be actively avoided by chain stores, or perhaps more pragmatically, that chain stores tend to sign longer leases.

St. Giles Condensed Use Classification	Site Count	% of 4+ user sites	% of all sites, 1994
Vacant	546	14%	9%
Clothing	526	13%	6%
Restaurant	265	7%	6%
Food store	261	7%	4%
Home Furnishings & Household Goods	214	5%	3%
P. H.	208	5%	6%
Takeaway food	197	5%	5%
Hair Care, Styling & Beauty	130	3%	2%
Offices	106	3%	5%
Misc. Goods	103	3%	3%

Table 6.10: 10 most common uses of St. Giles sites with 4 or more occupants*, 1978-94

The analysis of the dominant uses in these high occupant sites, summarised in Table 6.10 and Table 6.11, indicates that as with the BUC and Capital classifications, comparisons between uses in the 4+ occupant sites and those of the base year indicate broad similarities.

Princes Street Condensed Use Classification	Site Count	% of 4+ user sites	% of all sites, 1994
Clothing	636	21%	15%
Vacant	360	12%	8%
Restaurant	188	6%	5%
P. H.	151	5%	5%
Misc. Goods	131	4%	3%
Jeweler	130	4%	3%
Takeaway food	127	4%	4%
Audio Hi-Fi TV etc.	109	4%	2%
Home Furnishings & Household Goods	105	4%	2%
Offices	85	3%	4%

Table 6.11: 10 most common uses of Princes Street sites with 4 or more occupants, 1978-94

The distribution of uses in these high-change sites is, overall, broadly similar to the average distribution of site uses, although in both Regions the two

* The ten most common site represent 64% of the uses in the St. Giles region for sites with 4 or more occupants and 68% of the Princes' Street site uses for sites with 4 or more occupants.

dominant site uses (clothing and vacancies) are slightly over-represented in comparison to the 1994 use counts*.

6.1.8: The characteristics of change

While we have explored rates of change and variations and concentrations of change, of significant interest is the broader nature of these changes. To construct an overview of the street and its change, every site was classified every year to indicate whether the site had changed occupant, or use, or both. This data was collated and the types of change can be seen for the St. Giles Region in Figure 6.13 and Figure 6.14. As would be expected, the patterns of stability and change are closely related to those in Figure 6.1, which showed the overall rate of change for both Regions.

What is immediately noticeable is that in Figure 6.13, which is based upon analysis of Goad's occupant and use data, approximately 22% of all change marks either a changing occupant or a changed use by the previous year's occupant, (but not both). These sites are those whose occupants have changed but whose use has remained the same, and those whose use has been re-classified by Goad, for example from women's wear to women's and children's wear, or from a unisex hairdresser to a ladies' hairdresser. Sites with patterns of stable uses are often those with either use-specific sets of shop-fittings (butchers, fishmongers etc.) or those with particular forms of planning consent (e.g. restaurants and pubs).

This substantial fraction of the overall levels of 'change' that show more incremental types of change indicates that it is an exaggeration to assume that change is in any way synonymous with dramatic shifts in site usage or types of occupants: this indicates that a considerable amount of overall levels of change in fact represents an evolution of the street. It is arguable that the Goad data is not sufficiently nuanced to identify much of the latter types of change, as this would require a more comprehensive analysis of exactly what goods and services sites

* Detailed use counts were only calculated for 1978 and 1994, so the choice of the 1994 data as a basis for comparisons is admittedly somewhat arbitrary.

provide than appears to be the case in the datasets that were examined.

This percentage of incremental change is broadly consistent over the length of the study period and both study Regions (Figure 6.15). A comparison with Figure 6.14 shows that the values for changing uses have disappeared, reflecting the use of a broader, more aggregated definition of site use than that provided by Goad.

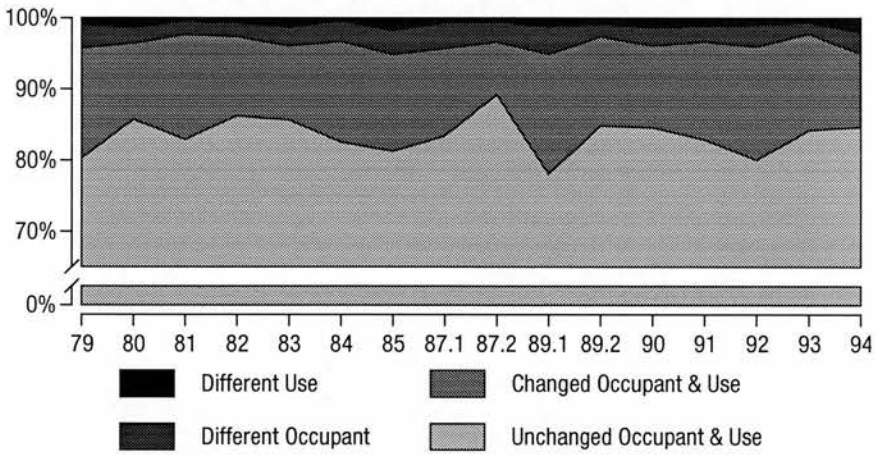


Figure 6.13: St. Giles site change (Goad use classification), 1979-94

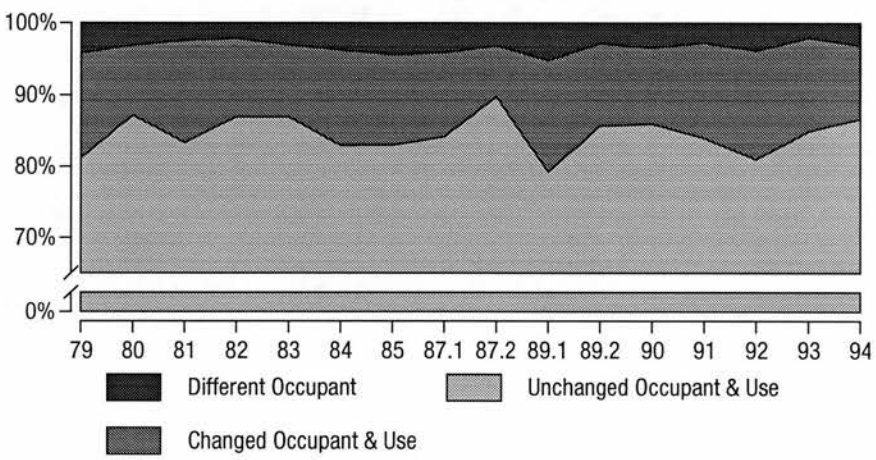


Figure 6.14: St. Giles site change (CUC classification), 1979-94

It was expected that the peak in stability in late 1987 and the corresponding later peak in change in early 1989 in the St. Giles datasets are primarily artefacts caused by the non-sequential timing of the data collection, representing in the first case a very short gap of 8 months between surveys (which acted to minimise the amount of change) and a larger gap of 16 months which would emphasise the cumulative amount of change on the street.

The data for the Princes Street Region (Figure 6.15) indicates a pattern of change broadly similar to that of the St. Giles data, aside from the significant increase in change in 1984, caused by additions to the Region in the Goad dataset.

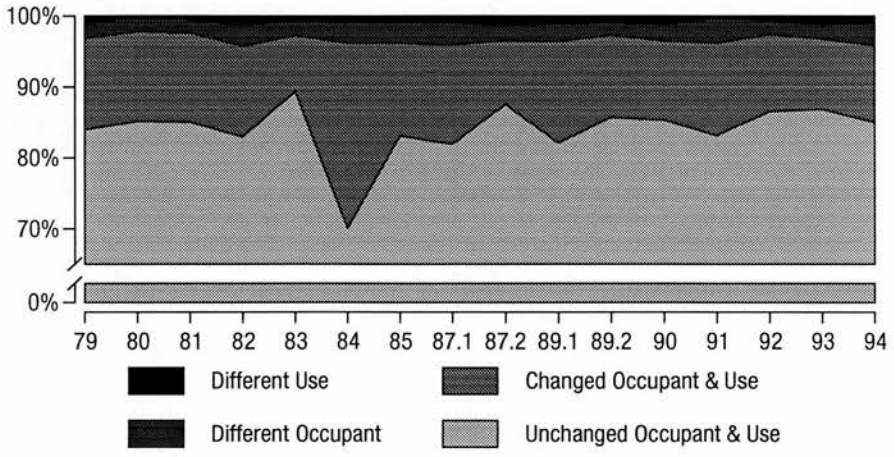


Figure 6.15: Princes Street site change (Goad use classification), 1979-94

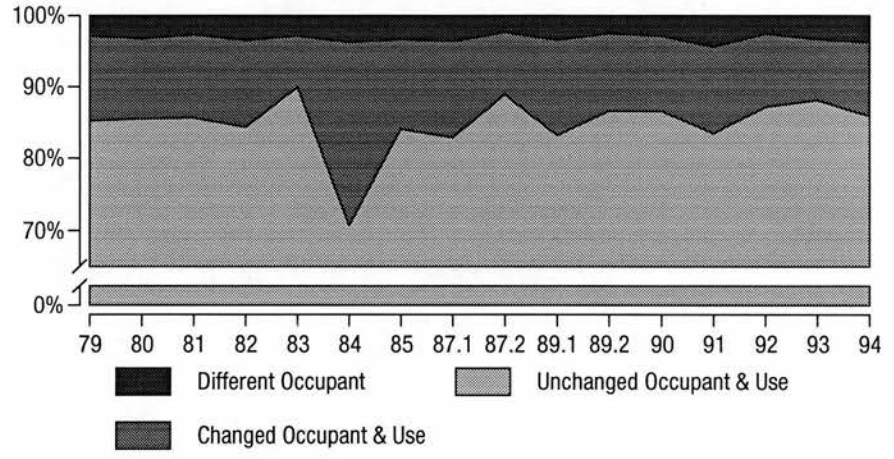


Figure 6.16: Princes Street site change (CUC classification), 1979-94

The variation caused by variations in the timing of data collection in 1987/9 is also visible in this dataset, though not representing an impact to the same degree as the St. Giles data, indicating that the more substantial changes highlighted in the St. Giles data probably included other significant site changes: in this case the re-construction of the majority of the south side of the Royal Mile between Blackfriar's St. and St. Mary's St., and the redevelopment of a number of derelict buildings to the East of St. Patrick's Square were the source of this sudden spurt of change. From this it becomes clear that many of the largest swings in the data

are coincidental with larger-scale site re-development, rather than other sources of change.

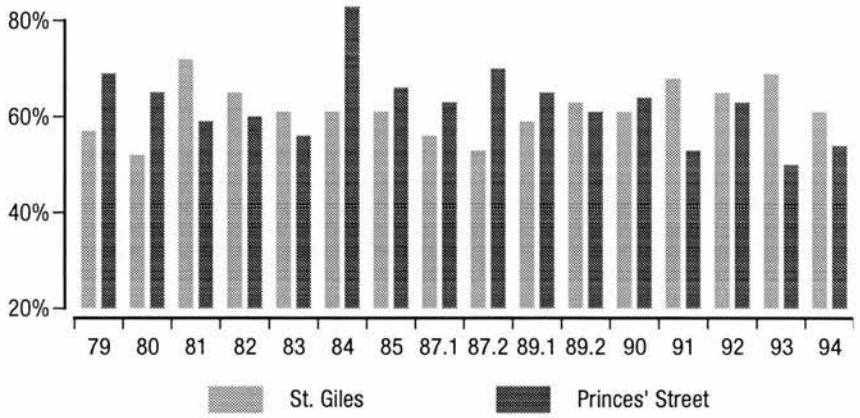


Figure 6.17: Relationship between site change and changing BUC classifications, 1979-94

Figure 6.17 shows the link between site/occupant change and any associated changes in the site's Broad Use Classification.* Overall, over 60% of the St. Giles site change involved a change in the site's use that required a BUC re-classification. The link between the two is even stronger in the Princes Street Region, where almost 65% of all of the site changes required a re-classification.

It was originally expected that the St. Giles figures would be somewhat higher than they were, given the significant number of site vacancies in the Region (cf. Table 6.3) and the impact of the methodology which was used to initially categorise the sites by BUC, as sites that became vacant and were then re-occupied were (usually) classed as having undergone two distinct changes between BUC categories. Given the structure of the database, it was not possible to completely compensate for the impact of vacancies on this comparison. However, a rough estimate, factoring in the number of BUC changes and the numbers of vacancies ending in each year, indicated that 47% of the St. Giles site change resulted in a BUC re-classification, while the Princes Street value was slightly higher at 53%.

This data helps quantify exactly how sites change and perhaps more

* The BUC classification divides all the sites in to five main categories: 'Retail', 'Leisure', 'Institutional', 'Service', and 'Other'. Vacant sites were classified as 'Other'.

importantly how they are **perceived** to have changed. While the previous section argued that a substantial part of all change was somewhat incremental, this data indicates that another significant component of change is the marked change in site use. With a strong association between site change and BUC re-classification, it is clear that these significant shifts in individual site uses that are highlighted by the rate of re-classification may work to **emphasise** the perceptions of site change.

6.1.9: Broader perspectives on Change

In order to study the broad pattern of changing site uses within the two study Regions, all sites were classified into one of five broad usage (BUC) categories: 'Retail', 'Leisure', 'Services', 'Institutional', and 'Other'.

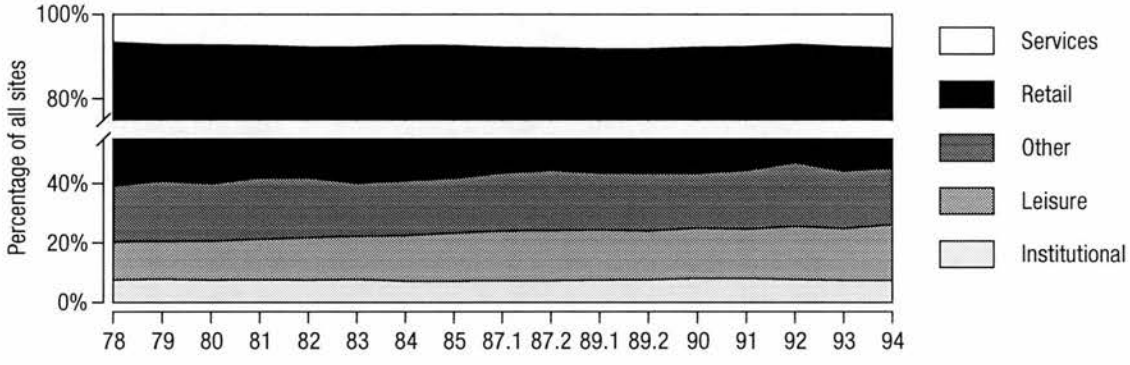


Figure 6.18: Broad use classification profile, St. Giles 1978-94

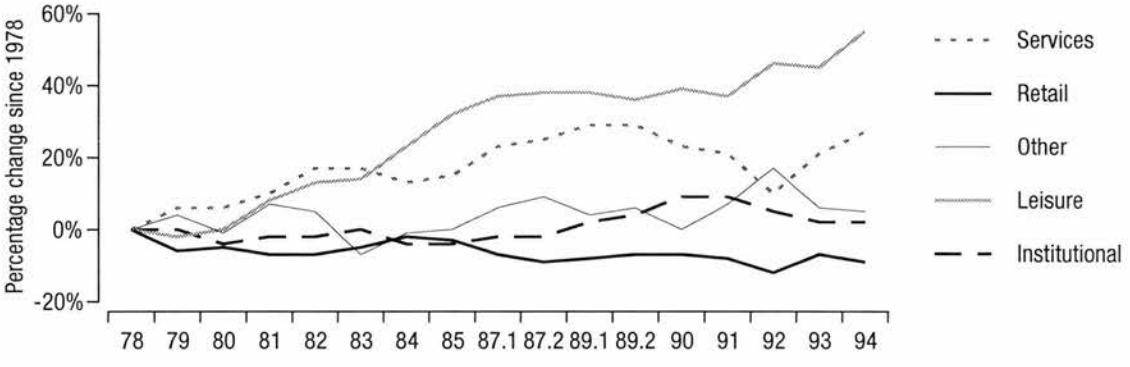


Figure 6.19: Broad patterns of use changes, St. Giles 1978-94

Figure 6.18 shows the changes in the St. Giles Region between the five broad use categories over the study period. Most noticeable in Figure 6.19 is the significant growth in leisure uses, especially since the early 80s, and the rise in services since the late 80s. This has broadly been paralleled by a decline in retail

uses, as retail sites have been replaced by other uses. Changes in the 'Other' category largely parallel the rise and fall of vacancy rates in the Region (cf. Figure 6.8), as vacancies are the significant constituent of this category.

Comparisons between Figure 6.18 and Figure 6.19 indicate however that while the growth in the leisure category, and to a lesser degree the service category have both been significant, in both cases this represents a substantial rise in a small initial percentage of site uses, so the broad overall use profile shows only a modest overall redistribution within the broader use categories.

This is in contrast to Figure 6.20, which indicates that while there have been noticeable variations in the types of uses in the Princes Street Region during the study period, the broad distributions of the main uses has remained relatively constant over the duration of the study project.

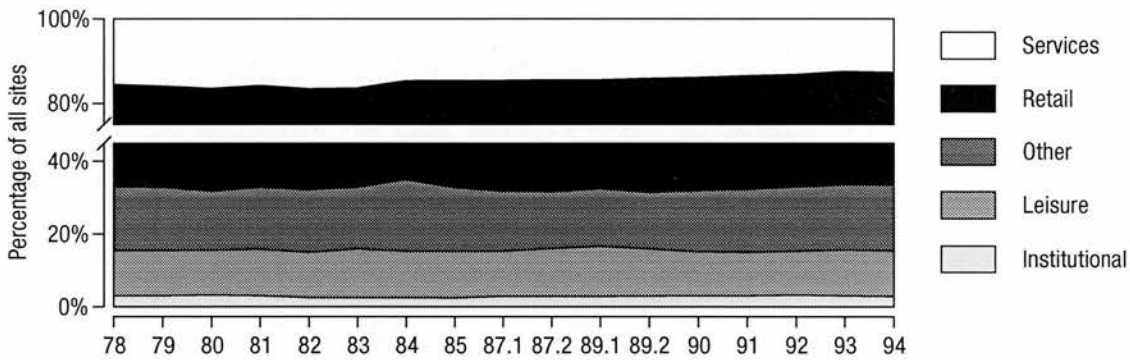


Figure 6.20: Broad use classification profile, Princes Street 1978-94

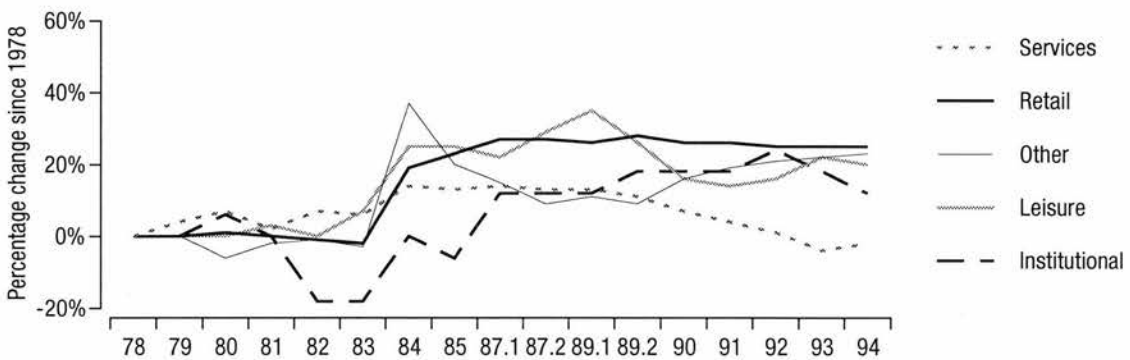


Figure 6.21: Broad patterns of use change, Princes Street 1978-94

It is clear from Figure 6.21 that the changes due to the expansion of the Goad data have had a significant impact upon the study of changes within this particular dataset. Broadly speaking, the basic stability of the broad use classifications is emphasised, despite the noticeable drop in the number of

service uses after the late 1980s.

It became clear during the classification of sites using these five categories that it was necessary to make a number of fairly arbitrary allocations of sites to each category, as many of the uses had considerable amounts of overlap: for example, retail sites that catered to tourists by selling 'Scottish' goods arguably claim to be both retail and leisure sites.

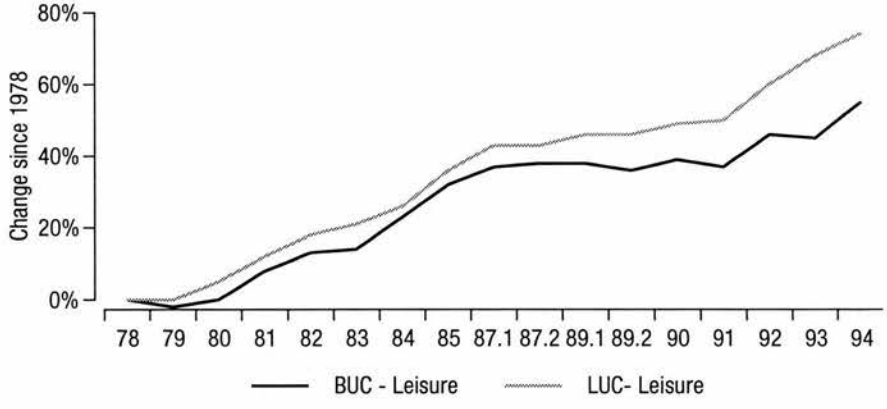


Figure 6.22: Comparison of BUC and LUC Classifications, St. Giles

A comparison between the 'leisure' classification of the Broad Use Classification (BUC) and the Leisure Use Classification (LUC) for the St. Giles Region goes some way to highlight this potential discrepancy*. As Figure 6.22 shows, by the end of the survey period, the LUC value (which classified **all** sites on a leisure/non-leisure use basis, and is thus rather more inclusive of the various potential retail/leisure and leisure/service permutations of site use), is some 19% higher than that for the BUC leisure classification for the same sites in the same Region.

Given that the specific indices of leisure and services provided a far more complete and nuanced allocation mechanism for compiling the relevant data, it is concluded that while this classification method provides a broad overview of how the street is changing, it is by no means a definitive means by which to study or comment upon the individual sectors which constitute it (with the

* This particular comparison shows the most marked of all the differences between Leisure and Service classifications for the two study regions.

exception of retailing, which was the predominant indicator for the BUC classification), as the use of this particular classification of broad but fixed categories ignores the reality that many sites may have multiple roles and imposes a logic that is not necessarily representative of the street and its uses.

6.1.10: Changing Site Uses

While the broad use classification (BUC) provides us with an overview of street change, it is not able to provide much in the way of detailed knowledge of how actual uses are changing, only the direction of wider use trends. To rectify this, individual site uses were analysed for 1978 and 1994, the start and end years of the survey. Given that Goad's own classification of site uses is somewhat problematic and inconsistent, the Condensed Use Classification (CUC), which aggregated all of Goad's use categories into wider and more comprehensive classes was used as the source for analysis.

St. Giles Uses	Count of uses, January 1978	Count of uses, November 1994	Change 1978-94	% change, n>10
Charity Shop	1	11	10	1000%
Travel Agent	2	11	9	450%
Takeaway food	8	39	31	388%
Dwelling	13	32	19	146%
C.T.N.	10	19	9	90%
Restaurant	26	45	19	73%
Offices	26	39	13	50%
Hair Care, Styling & Beauty	13	17	4	31%
Misc. Goods	18	21	3	17%
P. H.	46	49	3	7%
Books etc.	12	10	-2	-17%
Church etc.	11	9	-2	-18%
Baker	16	12	-4	-25%
Jeweler	12	9	-3	-25%
Food store	46	32	-14	-30%
Clothing	69	47	-22	-32%
Home Furnishings & Household Goods	39	25	-14	-36%
Antiques	14	9	-5	-36%
Bank	20	10	-10	-50%
Foot WR	22	5	-17	-77%

Table 6.12: St. Giles use changes, 1978-94

Table 6.12 shows the data for the St. Giles Region for both years for all uses

with more than 10 sites in one of the two survey years. While in percentage terms there are a number of eye-catching shifts in the distribution of uses, the most significant in real terms are the substantial increases in the number of takeaway food sites, restaurants and dwellings. The rises in numbers of restaurants and takeaway food sites, together with the substantial increase in the number of travel agents and the smaller increase in the numbers of public houses, provides clear evidence of the substantial growth in leisure uses that was indicated in Figure 6.19.

A pattern also emerges within the group of uses which have showed a decline over the study period. It appears from the data that these are predominantly retail stores, and we can argue that this marks a significant decline in the variety and availability of particular goods and services within the Region as a whole: this is emphasised by the closure of the three department stores in the St. Giles Region, and the construction of shopping centres just to the south of the St. Giles Region at Cameron Toll in 1984.

It is difficult to argue though that this data indicates that the Region is becoming more homogenous, as the 93 closed site uses are more than offset by the 120 new site uses.

Princes Street Uses	Count of uses, January 1978	Count of uses, November 1994	Change 1978-94	% change, n>10
Takeaway food	2	23	21	1050%
Outdoor & Sports Goods	7	17	10	143%
Misc. Goods	8	19	11	138%
Books etc.	5	11	6	120%
Travel Agent	10	16	6	60%
Ancillary building	43	59	16	37%
Restaurant	25	32	7	28%
Department Store	9	11	2	22%
Building Society	19	21	2	11%
P. H.	30	32	2	7%
Offices	26	25	-1	-4%
Jeweler	22	20	-2	-9%
Clothing	107	96	-11	-10%
Home Furnishings & Household Goods	16	14	-2	-13%
Bank	21	15	-6	-29%

Table 6.13: Princes Street use changes, 1978-94

The data for the Princes Street Region (Table 6.13) shows some basic similarities to that of the St. Giles Region (Table 6.12). Most significant is the continued shift towards the provision of leisure uses, with the most significant growth being in the number of takeaway food sites, although the construction of a food court as part of the Waverly Centre accounts for over a third of these new sites. There is a significant increase in the numbers of restaurants and travel agents, and very high growth in the outdoor and sports goods providers. What is clear is that the growth in leisure sites (primarily leisure facilitators in this Region) is not limited to the High Street/Royal Mile axis in the St. Giles' Region, but is also well represented in the traditional Princes Street 'high street'.

There are far fewer significant declines in particular use counts, (five, compared to ten for the St. Giles Region) in the Princes Street Region, although this is once again expected to be at least partially caused by the expansion of the Goad coverage for the Region. What may be more significant is that four of the five 'declining' uses in the Princes Street Region are also declining uses in the St. Giles Region: the only exception being office uses.

6.2: Streets of Stability

That things change is a given. Whether *all* things change, simultaneously and consistently, is however a rather different set of questions. While considerable recent interest has been shown in change, and to a lesser degree the street (Crewe, 1994), rather less emphasis has been placed on the street as a stable, historical entity (though see Millward (1997)). To a degree this is not surprising, given the widespread failure to recognise the history of consumption spaces (Morris, 1988), and the general lack of historical perspectives on urban consumption practices (Driver, 1988; Crewe and Lowe, 1995)

While stability and historicity are themselves individually important, it must also be remembered that, as Berman (1982) has persuasively argued, it is the combination and continued tension between the binarisms of change and stability that is the hallmark of the modern experience. We cannot fairly study one without reference to the other. Given the lack of historical perspectives on modern or recent urban landscapes (Howell, 1993; Hayden, 1995), it is almost

inevitable that questions of stability and the street must be overlooked as well. Arguably change is easier to study, given the relative paucity of accessible and easy to use quasi-historical data sources which are necessary for the construction of a historical context to analyse stability.

It is argued that to see the street solely in terms of change ignores the fundamental stability of the city street: its consistency and slow **overall** rate of evolution. As such, much of the analysis of this section arguably represents the reverse of approaches taken in the previous section. Aspects of the 'historical' street are evaluated to deepen the understanding of the nature of change and its relationship to the persistent street, with particular attention focusing on several differing definitions of stability, especially the numbers of occupants and uses each site has had. This basic data is then used to construct a cumulative profile of the 'age' of the street as the study progresses, which enables us to view the street not as a site of change but as a site of increasing stability. A detailed look is taken at the street data for 1994, the final year in the study period, as this year's data allows us to generate a long-term profile of the relative age of the sites that comprise the street. From this, we focus on those sites that have remained unchanged over the length of the study period (i.e. those whose occupants, uses and boundaries have not changed), as these are both the oldest and most persistent sites within the study Regions.

6.2.1: The unchanging street

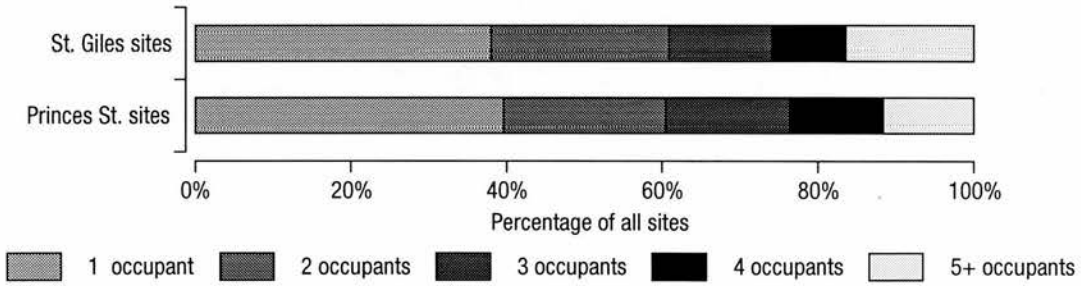


Figure 6.23: Number of Occupants per site, 1978-94

Analysing the number of occupants each site has had gives us a useful mechanism to analyse how stable the street actually is. As can be seen from Figure 6.23, almost 40% of all sites in both the St. Giles and Princes Street Regions have had only one occupant, while 60% have had one or two occupants

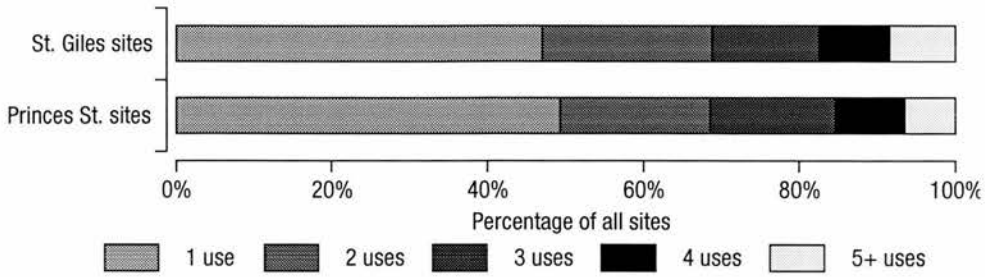


Figure 6.24: Number of Occupants per site, 1978-94

The indications of high levels of relative site stability are emphasised by the analysis of the number of different uses of each site: almost 50% of all sites have had only one use, just under 70% of all sites have had only two uses, and over 80% have had less than three uses during the entire seventeen year study period. From this data it is clear that high levels of overall site stability are the norm in both study Regions.

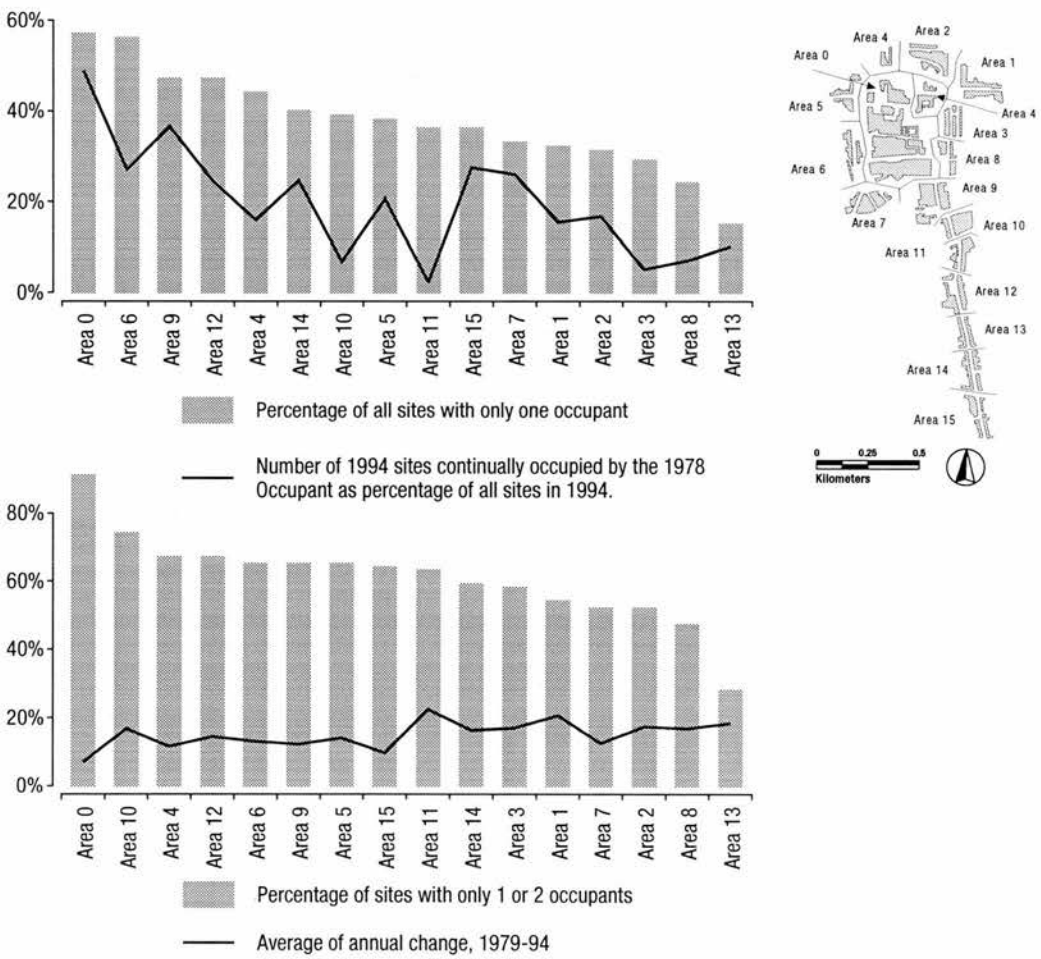


Figure 6.25: Sites with one or two users, St. Giles 1978-94

From Figure 6.25 and Figure 6.26, we can see that when we break down the analysis of the number of occupants each site has had by the smaller geographical Areas, as we would expect significant numbers of sites in all Areas have had only one or two occupants: there are only two Areas in St. Giles, out of the 27 Areas in both study Regions, where less than 50% of all sites have had two or fewer uses. Fourteen of the St. Giles Areas have had only one or two occupants in more than 60% of all of their sites.

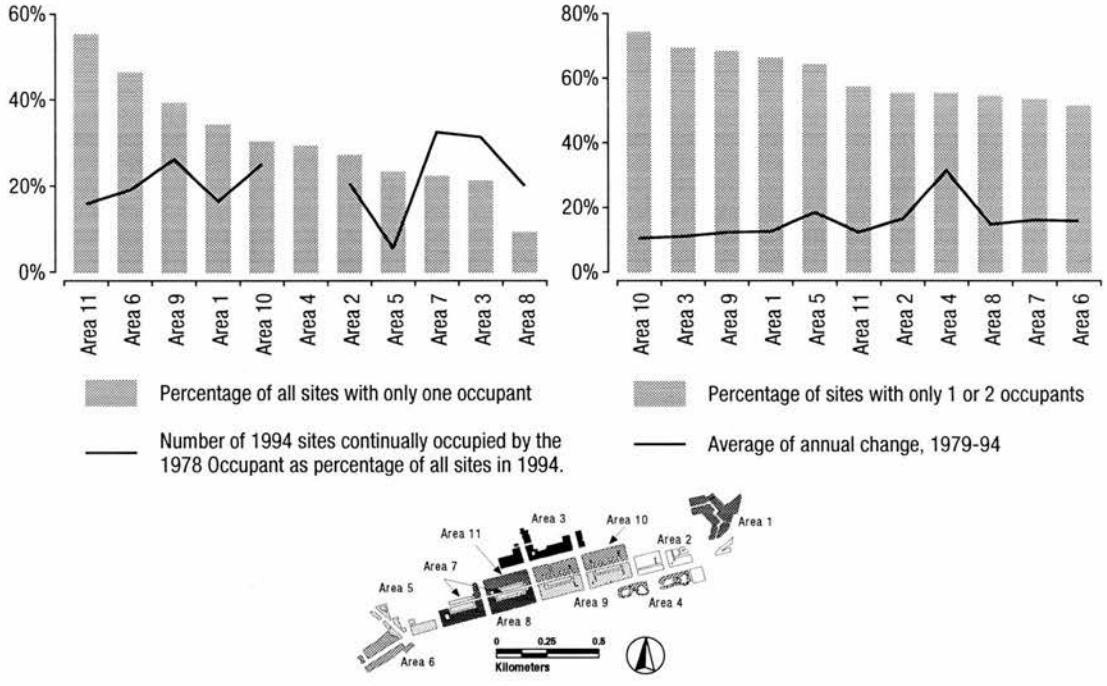


Figure 6.26: Sites with one or two users, Princes Street, 1978-94

The data for the Princes Street Areas indicates the same trend that was identified in the St. Giles data, with the number of sites with one or two occupants remains high, with all Areas in the Princes Street Region having only one or two occupants in more than 50% of their constituent sites. Overall, what this data tells us is that while there may be considerable change in the street, there is also considerable simultaneous site stability across the whole of the study Regions. This reinforces the argument that the street exhibits a binary relationship between change and stability.

6.2.2: Persistent Streets

Figure 6.27 shows the changing age profile for the two study Regions.

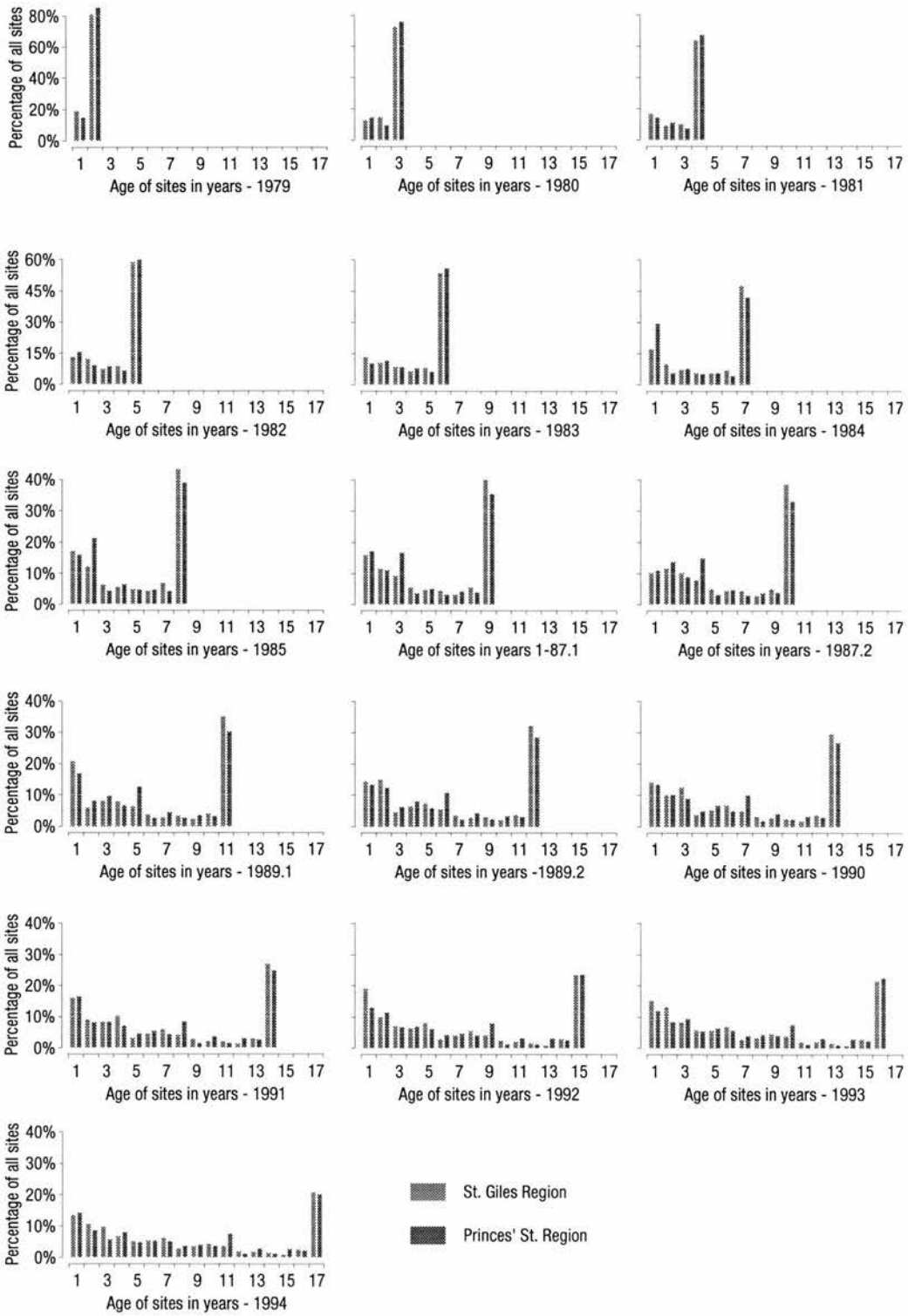
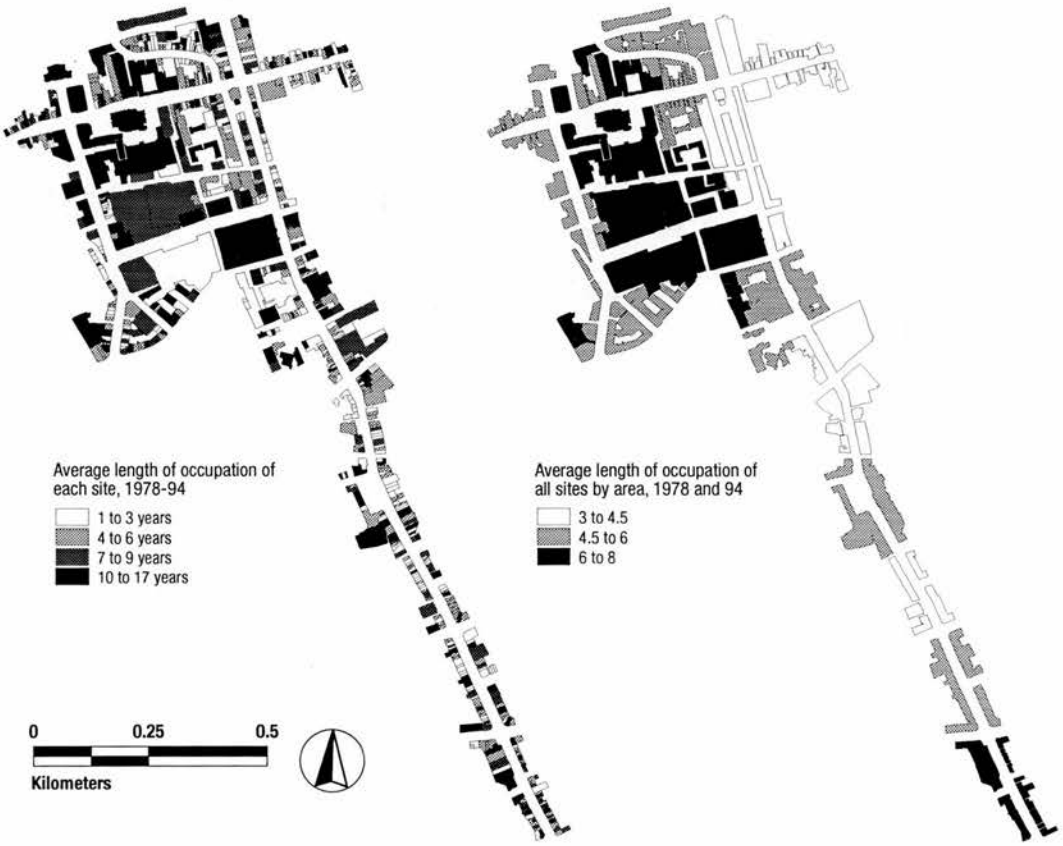


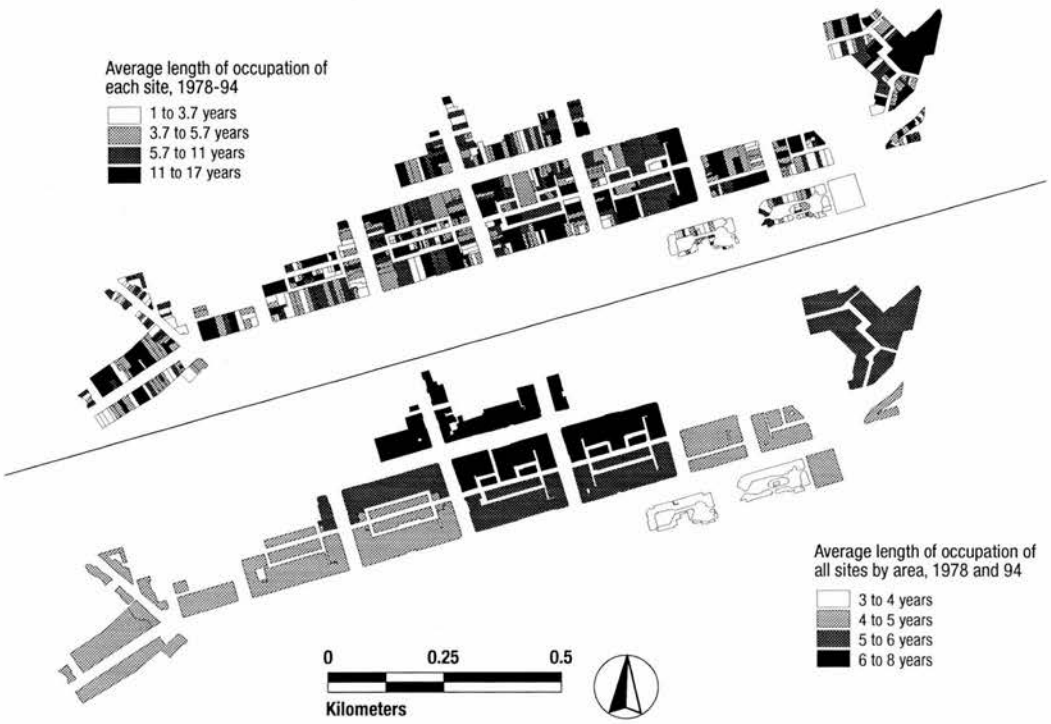
Figure 6.27: The evolving street, St. Giles and Princes Street, 1978-94

This highlights the discontinuity between the high rate of continuous change of the street (as shown in Figure 6.1), and the slower overall rate of transition of the street. This emphasises the long-term impact of the concentration of significant amounts of change in a small number of sites (cf. Figure 6.11), where the perception of significant and substantial change is somewhat exaggerated in comparison to the actual overall rates of change. What is significant, in terms of the age of the street and perhaps more importantly in the **perception** of the age of the street, is that for both study Regions, the oldest sites (i.e. those that either began in 1978 or which already existed at the start of the survey), are the largest single component of the street for every year of the study. Figure 6.27 indicates that there is a considerable degree of 'latency' in the street, and that these very old sites represent a substantial, and in the short term numerically dominant segment of the street (see also Figure 6.31: The persistence of the 1978 street, 1979-94). The impact of this latency is emphasised by the fact that it took **seven** years (from 1978 until 1984) for the change in the street to aggregate to the point where the 1978 occupants no longer represented over 50% of all sites in the two study Regions, and that after 15 years of constant and cumulative change over 20% of all sites remained unchanged since 1978.

If we study persistence at the site level it is again clear from both Map 6.3 and Map 6.4 that the street exhibits considerable amounts of stability and fixity. Overall, these stable sites are slightly more concentrated in the Princes Street Region. Overall the St. Giles average persistency values are perhaps somewhat lower than expected, but this can be linked to substantial amounts of site redevelopment, and it is expected that the considerable numbers of vacancies in both Regions has also played a role. There is a considerable amount of contrast in the Princes Street Area data between the persistence of sites within the two shopping malls in the study Region: this is mainly due to the late- appearance (1984) of the Waverly Centre in the study Region, which has had a predictable impact upon its' sites average length of occupancy. Overall, the high numbers of sites displaying high degrees of stability reinforces the observation that continual change tends to be focused on a relatively small number of sites, while the majority of sites display significant occupant and use stability.



Map 6.3: Persistence of sites, St. Giles



Map 6.4: Persistence of sites, Princes Street

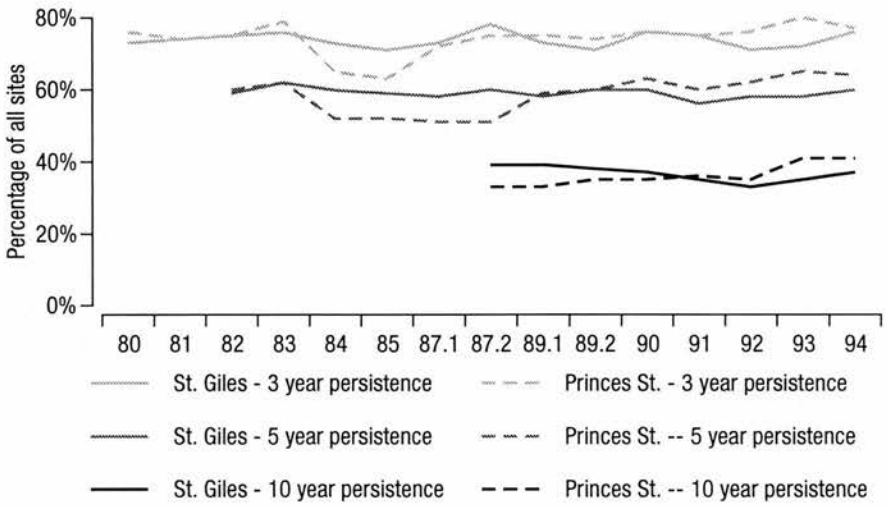


Figure 6.28: Persistence of sites in years, 1978-94

Figure 6.28 shows an aggregated age/stability profile for both study Regions. It indicates that there are consistently high levels of site stability in both study Regions over the broad period of the surveys. This data indicates that the relative levels of stability, while varying somewhat over time, are relatively constant, and are not decreasing, as we would expect if we thought the street was both becoming younger and changing more quickly.

6.2.3: The 1994 Street

The 1994 street provides us with an opportunity to study the overall impact of change and persistence on the street. As can be seen from Figure 6.29, the street profile indicates that the street represents a continuum, from very young to very old sites, and while there are substantial numbers of very new sites, these are still numerically outweighed by the large numbers of very old sites. It is significant that this pattern holds true for both study Regions, as this indicates that this profile is not the result of particular local conditions (for example the high levels of site stability that is a characteristic of the large numbers of institutional uses clustered within the St. Giles Region).

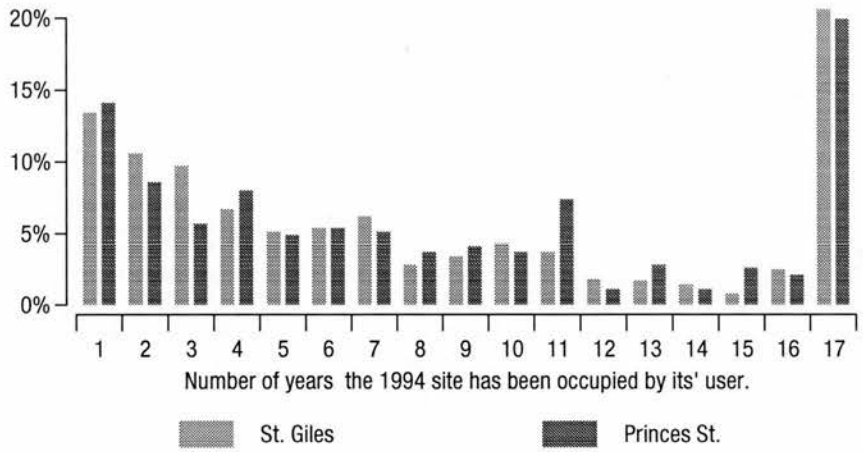


Figure 6.29: Age profile of the 1994 Street

The 1978 (and earlier) sites still represent the largest category of sites in these street profiles (by almost 30%), and while this is to a degree an artefact caused by the inclusion of sites that existed before 1978, this provides a clear indication that there are substantial numbers of sites that show a very high degree of site stability in both study Regions.

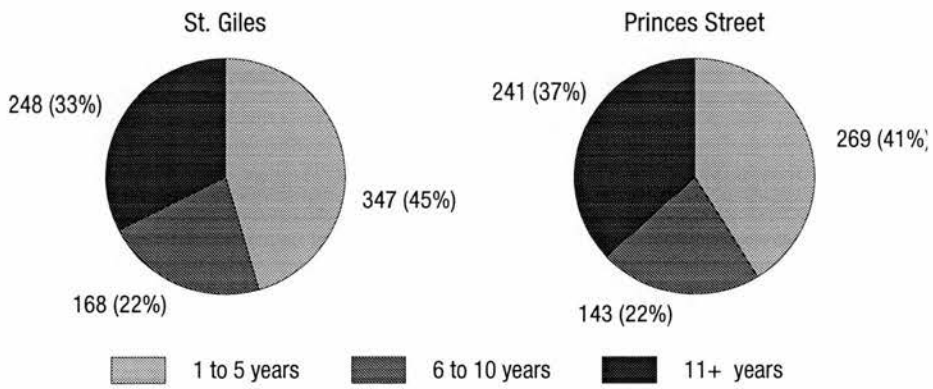


Figure 6.30: Length of occupancy of 1994 sites

The breakdown of the age profile of the 1994 street shown in Figure 6.30 clearly shows the divide that exists between the relatively 'young' street and the relatively old/stable street. This graphically illustrates the binary nature of the un/changing street. It is safe to say from this data that analyses that emphasise the nature of the changing street may completely miss the substantial evidence of urban street stability.

6.2.4: The 17 year old site

Within the parameters of the database that was created from the transcribed Goad data, the 17 year old sites represent the most persistent of all the sites in the study Regions, as they are the only ones to have a) existed for the entire duration of the study and b) not to have changed occupants. By definition this has excluded sites (and their occupants) who have been either subdivided or otherwise expanded/assembled during the study period, as it was not possible to keep track of that type of information in the database, especially given the concerns raised earlier in Section 6.1.1: (The Changing Fabric of the Streetscape) that the Goad data was not a reliable source of information on site modifications and construction. As it was not possible (when using only the Goad data) to identify the precise nature of physical changes to particular sites (especially whether sites were substantially modified or actually replaced by new construction), it was decided not to try and attempt to correlate site change and occupant continuity.

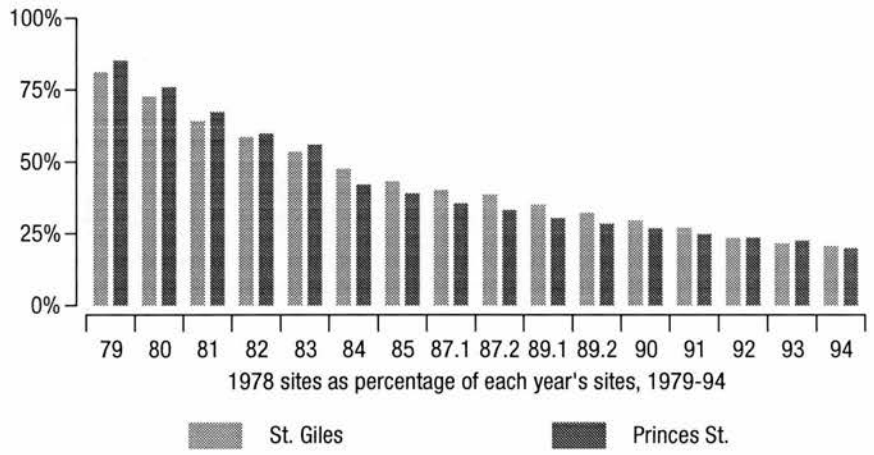


Figure 6.31: The persistence of the 1978 street, 1979-94

Figure 6.31 clearly shows that the 1978 street continues to exist in the streetscape in substantially unchanged form for many years after 1978: it took six years (until 1984) before 1978 sites represented less than half of the occupants of the streetscape. As these sites include not only sites that were first occupied in 1978 but also pre-existing occupants at the start of the survey, this oldest street contains a high proportion of highly stable sites, somewhat in contrast to subsequent years' data, that collectively represent a high degree of stability and

fixity. To identify the impact of these pre-existing sites, the persistence of the 1978 street was compared with that of sites that appeared for the first time in the 1979 street survey. Figure 6.32 shows clearly that the 1978 street (which began with 1273 sites, vs. 215 for the 1979 street) shows noticeably higher persistence levels than do the 1979 sites.

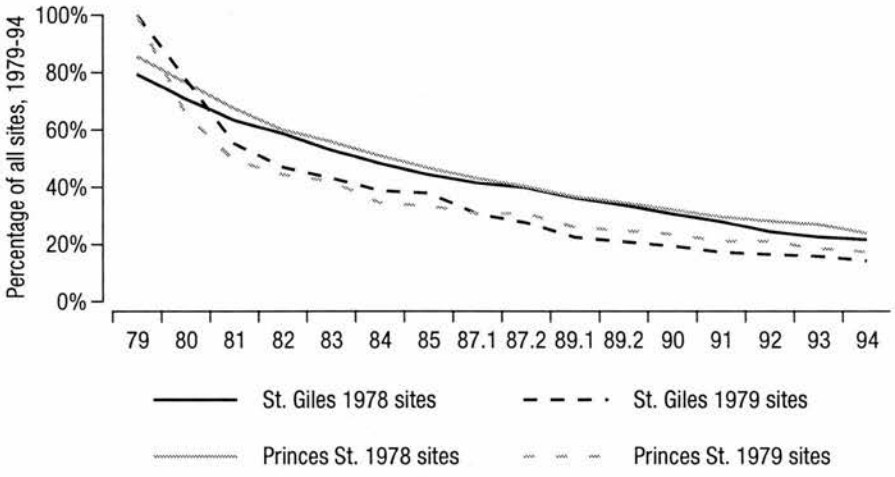


Figure 6.32: Persistence of 1978 and 1979 sites, 1979-94

This emphasises the role these pre-existing sites play in emphasising the continued stability of the street. It is clear from this data that there is a considerable amount of evidence that a significant part of the street is both stable and changing only slowly over extended periods of time, in direct contrast to perceptions of the street as a site of rapid change (see also Figure 6.27: The evolving street, St. Giles and Princes Street, 1978-94).

6.3: Streets of Homogeneity, Streets of Variety

One of the central ironies of 'homogeneity' is the great difficulty that is inherent in attempts to construct a 'homogenous' definition of the term itself. Within the wider literature on postmodernism and change, there is often a theoretical legerdemain which links (often implicitly) the growth of chains and multiples (Luxenberg, 1986; Jones, 1991; Goss, 1993; Savage and Warde, 1993; Zukin, 1995), the increasing impact of 'the economies of signs' (Jameson, 1984; Baudrillard, 1988a; Sack, 1988; Zukin, 1991; Featherstone, 1992) and increasing levels of urban homogenisation. This is not, however, the only possible definition of homogeneity: Meethan (1996) for example has cast it in terms of a

decline in the number of uses and types of goods available due to wide-scale retail restructuring, while Zukin (1991: p. 12), Jackson (1995: p. 209) and Thrift (1997) have questioned the universality and practicality of these homogenisation discourses, as Crouch (1998) has done with particular focus on the particularities of the 'commodification' of the street. These varied and problematic discourses of homogeneity are thus difficult to translate into theoretical questions which can be applied to a database of city data.

The Goad data and its' myriad classifications that were developed during this analysis provide the means for three different approaches to the issues of homogeneity. The first uses an analysis of the total number of distinct uses in each Region and Area as indicators of homogeneity and variety, while the second studies the actual uses themselves to determine whether broad trends in use change can be identified. The third method defines homogeneity in terms of similarities of site users within and across the two study Regions by studying the changing distributions of chain stores and multiples: this approach is examined in depth in the following chapter.

6.3.1: Uses in the street

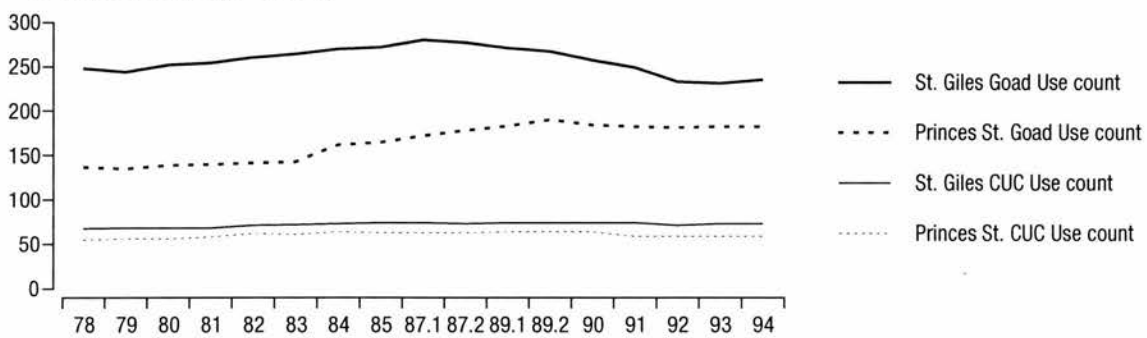


Figure 6.33: Changing numbers of uses

Figure 6.33 shows the total number of different uses in the two study Regions, using Goad's use classifications and the more generalised Condensed Use Classification. While there are noticeable variations in the total number of unique uses Goad reports, the data shows neither a marked increase nor decrease in the overall numbers of different uses across the study Regions. While the data does show a somewhat cyclical variation within the St. Giles data, the Princes Street data show a marked increase in the numbers of uses, numbers that are

probably slightly inflated by the increases in the size of the study Region in 1984. The relatively constant but low CUC use counts when looking at the two study Regions as a whole may seem significant but this is not unexpected, given that this actually reflects the broader categorisation of uses implicit in the classification of uses into a fairly limited number of classes, and is arguably as much a result of the methodology used than an explicit confirmation that the number of uses is remaining constant.

It is thus necessary to look at this data at even smaller geographic scale, to see if these patterns hold. When the CUC data is analysed at the smaller Area level, a markedly different pattern of variations amongst uses in these similarly sized Areas emerges.

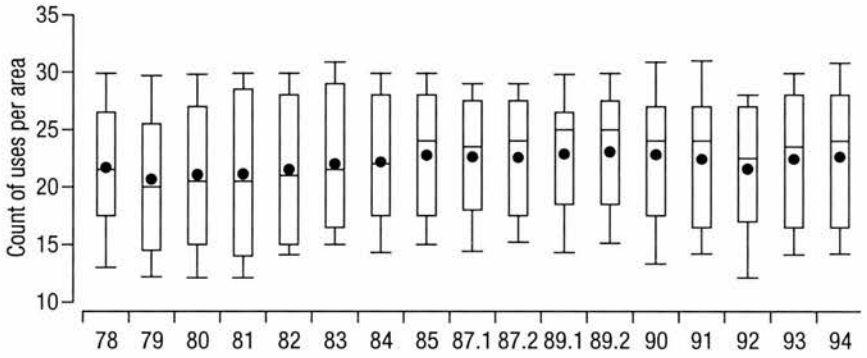


Figure 6.34: Variations in the numbers of Area CUC uses per year, St. Giles 1978-94

The St. Giles' data indicates that at the smaller Area level there are substantial variations between the number of distinct uses identified in each Area each year, and that there is a clear pattern showing that this particular variation is relatively consistent across the length of the study period.

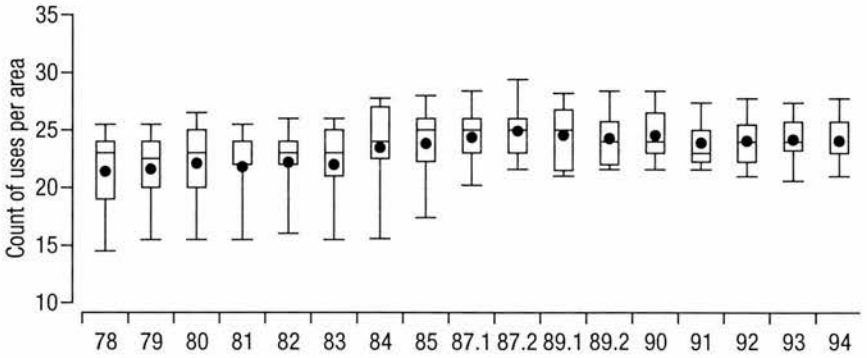


Figure 6.35: Variations in the numbers of Area CUC uses per year, Princes Street 1978-94

In contrast, the Princes Street data shows significant differences in the

geographical patterns of variations in numbers of Area uses from the St. Giles data. In overall terms, it is clear that the average number of uses per Area is increasing during the period of the study. It is also clear that the significant variation between the numbers of uses across different Areas decreases markedly after 1984, which we can directly attribute to change brought about by the expansion of the Goad dataset which resulted in a considerable expansion of the size of the smallest Area in the Princes Street Region.

In contrast to the St. Giles data, it is clear that there is far less geographical variation in the numbers of uses per Area, which is consistently higher than is the case in the St. Giles Region. This indicates that in terms of the numbers of uses per Area, the Princes Street Areas are considerably less homogenous than is the case in St. Giles, where several Areas show high levels of use homogeneity.

If we then look at this use data not on an annual but on a *Area* basis, very different local patterns of homogeneity emerge.

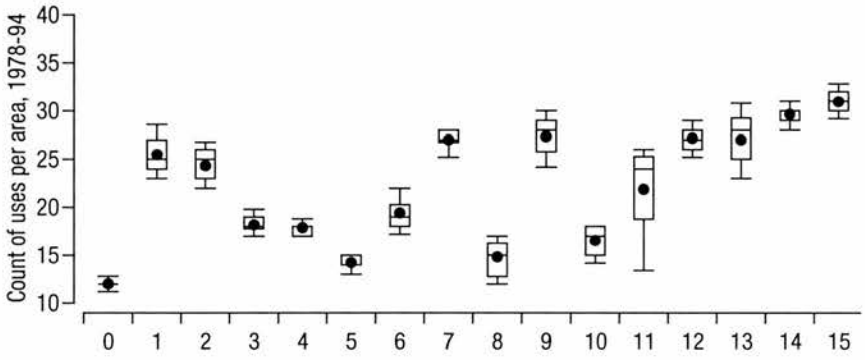


Figure 6.36: Variations in numbers of uses within each Area, St. Giles

As can be seen from Figure 6.36, the St. Giles data shows (with one exception*) that these smaller geographic Areas display only small variations in the numbers of different uses over the length of the study. This indicates that in terms of the numbers of uses per Area, there is little evidence of substantial shifts or changes in patterns of homogeneity. It is also clear that there are a number of Areas in the St. Giles Region which display significant levels of

* Area 11 was subjected to wholesale redevelopment during the period of study, which has directly caused this substantial variation from the pattern shown in the other St. Giles' areas.

use-homogeneity, as characterised by the low levels of different site uses.

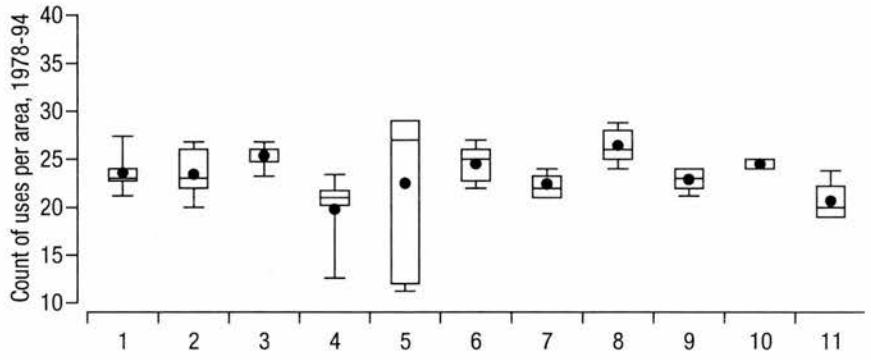


Figure 6.37: Variations in numbers of uses within each Area, Princes Street

Like the data for the St. Giles Areas, the data for the Princes Street Areas (Figure 6.37) shows a high degree of consistency in the numbers of uses within each Area, and in broad terms across the wider Princes Street study Region. From this data it is clear that as we speculated with the data in Figure 6.35, the relative levels of use homogeneity are both far more consistent within the 11 Princes Street Areas and also over time, especially in comparison with the St. Giles Areas. The markedly different patterns in the data for Areas 4 and 5 can be attributed to the impact of changes to these Areas with the expansion of the Goad dataset in 1984.

What this data indicates is that across both study Regions there have been relatively small amounts of change or variation in the numbers of uses in each Area over the period of the study: thus it seems that the relative degrees of *use* homogeneity are mostly unchanged. However, it is also clear that there are, especially in the St. Giles Areas, significant variations in the numbers of uses in each Area, seven of which are markedly more homogenous not only than the other sites in the study Region but than all of the study Areas in the Princes Street Region. It seems clear that while the street may indeed show significant signs of homogeneity, the streets that are most homogenous tend not to be those of the typical 'High Street' but those with high concentrations of Institutional and leisure uses.

6.3.2: Examining Dominant Site Uses

While the data in the previous section has indicated that there is little overall variation in the total numbers of Area uses during the study period, this does by necessity not tell us much about how the relative proportion of individual uses has changed during this period.

It was expected that if the street was becoming more homogenous, then this would be reflected in changes to the relative overall ranking of site uses in both study Regions. To analyse this, the Condensed Use Data for 1978 and 1994 were compared to see if any broad changes in the relative numbers of uses could be identified.*

St. Giles Jan-78	Nov-94	Change from 1994 rank of 1978 use
Vacant	Vacant	same
Clothing	P. H.	1
P. H.	Clothing	-1
Food store	Restaurant	2
Home Furnishings & Household Goods	Takeaway food	new
Ancillary building	Offices	1
Restaurant	Ancillary building	-1
Offices	Food store	-3
Foot WR	Dwelling	5
Bank	Home Furnishings & Household Goods	-4
Misc. Goods	Misc. Goods	same
Baker	C.T.N.	new
Antiques	Hair Care, Styling & Beauty	1
Hair Care, Styling & Beauty	Baker	-2
Dwelling	Travel Agent	new
	Charity Shop	new

Table 6.14: 15 largest site uses, St. Giles, 1978 and 1994

Table 6.14 shows the aggregated rankings of the largest 15 site uses in the St. Giles Region. Nine of the fifteen uses show little overall change from their 1978

* Goad's classification of site uses was not used for this analysis as it was not felt to be sufficiently internally consistent, and the classifications of many uses, particularly clothing and household goods were too arbitrary and specific.

rankings, while there are four new uses. The only significant changes within the uses are the substantial rise in dwellings and the substantial drop in the number of shops selling household goods.

If the data was to show increases in homogeneity, it would be expected to show a consolidation of particular uses. If we compare this data to Table 6.12 (St. Giles use changes, 1978-94) it is clear that there is little evidence of any use consolidation within the St. Giles Region. What change there is is primarily related to the rise of essentially new uses (in the case of charity shops and travel agents) or the substantial expansion of existing use categories (e.g. takeaway food sites).

Princes Street		Change from 1994 rank of
Jan-78	Nov-94	1978 use
Clothing	Clothing	same
Vacant	Ancillary building	1
Ancillary building	Vacant	-1
P. H.	Restaurant	2
Offices	P. H.	same
Restaurant	Offices	same
Jeweler	Takeaway food	new
Bank	Building Society	3
Foot WR	Jeweler	-1
Building Society	Foot WR	1
Home Furnishings & Household Goods	Misc. Goods	new
Travel Agent	Outdoor & Sports Goods	new
Audio Hi-Fi TV etc.	Travel Agent	1
Institutional/Social Services	Bank	-4
C.T.N.	Home Furnishings & Household Goods	-2
Estate Agent		new
Department Store		new

Table 6.15: 15 largest site uses, Princes Street, 1978 and 1994

Changes within the use data for the Princes Street Region broadly parallels that of the St. Giles data. Ten of the fifteen dominant uses show little or no change in their relative rankings, with five new uses. Once again, a comparison with Table 6.13 (Princes Street use changes, 1978-94) shows that increases in numbers of particular uses, even those with large percentage changes, are usually

actually the result of relatively small increases in the overall numbers of particular uses.

6.4: Change, Stability, Homogeneity and the Street

Change, while appearing straightforward, is revealed to be a complex and multifaceted series of events. At the site level, the data reveals significant shifts in physical boundaries, in occupants, and in uses. While the overall rates of occupant change in the street are relatively stable, this masks considerable variations at smaller scales. There is little evidence to support the wider assertions that the rate of change of the city is increasing.

While there is little annual change in many Areas, the data also shows that many others display rapid and substantial changes, with more than half of all change occurring in sites whose occupants have been there for less than two years. Vacancies provide a clear indicator of Areas in transition, and the data reveals the surprising conclusion that in both study Regions vacancies are amongst the dominant site uses. Despite the prevalence of change, many sites display high levels of stability, with over 60% of all sites having only one or two occupants with over 70% of all sites having only one or two uses. Sites occupied by chains or multiples show the highest levels of site stability. When sites do change, their uses tend to change markedly, which may help to exaggerate perceptions of change.

There is a significant contrast revealed between the levels of change and the levels of site stability. While much of the street (and its occupants) is new, it is equally true that much of the street is relatively old. This is important, as it provides a clear indication that while sections of the street change rapidly, the overall rate of change is much lower: the urban landscape changes at a slower rate than does its constituent sites. Even with a relatively short study period, it is clear that the modern street is one that is marked by a combination of the new and the old, where highly unstable sites with many occupants mingle with highly stable sites displaying little or no change. This continuing contrast (or tension) between the old and the new reveals the street to be prototypically modern.

Chapter 7: Streets of Leisure, Streets of Services, Streets of Capital

The previous chapter looked at the un/changing street by using a number of different types of data in different ways to highlight broad patterns of change and stability and to construct general and more abstracted analysis of the changing urban street. This chapter takes a different approach to much of the same material, by focusing not on overall questions of change but on particular types of change within broader categories and types of site uses.

As was the case with the previous chapter, it is fair to say that it is difficult to clearly separate the themes that are under discussion from the mass of inter-connected views, perspectives and results generated during analysis: they are all inter-related, and attempts to impose a logic of enquiry are often fraught with difficulty, due to the essential inter-relatedness of many aspects of the street. The result, as with the preceding chapter, is a pragmatic discourse structured by the desire to proceed in a logical way through what is a veritable Gordian knot of inter-relationships. This chapter focuses on three specific aspects of the changing street, particularly a) Streets of Leisure, b) Streets of Services and Institutions and c) Streets of Chains, Streets of Multiples.

Much of the 'new urban' literature focuses on the increasing role of leisure in the city (Relph, 1987; Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996; Hannigan, 1998; Hughes, 1999), and specifically the role of leisure in place formation (Jansen, 1989; Zukin, 1990; Warren, 1994; Urry, 1995; Francaviglia, 1996). With the increasing importance of leisure and tourism come questions about what exactly 'leisure' is, and how exactly it is re-shaping the landscape. The relationship between tourism, landscape and leisure is well known (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990; Urry, 1995), although detailed studies of changing leisure landscapes are rather more rare. Many studies focus on the changing world of the mall (Shields, 1989; Goss, 1992; Sack, 1992; Goss, 1993; Goss, 1996) as prisms for analysis of these changes: studies of changing neighbourhoods are less common (Meethan, 1996), but these are not unproblematic as they often focus exclusively on explicitly tourist areas and revitalised destinations (Boyer, 1992; De Oliver, 1996).

Discourses typified by the focus on 'Disneyficaton' (Gottdiener, 1995) and the wider impacts of postmodern urban revitalisation/reconstruction (Jameson, 1984; Harvey, 1989a) are problematic in that they lack a wider geographic perspective on the nature of these changes and tend to invariably privilege particular types of neighbourhoods undergoing particular processes of change. Studies of the changing nature of leisure 'in the street' gives us the opportunity to escape the boundaries of the mall and the festival marketplace and to 'escape' into the wider changing street. This allows us to contextualise leisure change within a much broader geographical area, and to highlight the discontinuities and contradictions entwined in the reality of the changing street.

The transition towards increased importance of leisure is arguably part of a wider cultural/economic transition. Analyses of the changing structure of Western economies from Bell (1973) onwards have focused on the transition to new economies and methods of production and capital extraction, often radically different from those that preceded them (Piore and Sabel, 1986; Harvey, 1987; Harvey, 1989a; Oberhauser, 1990). The (alleged – see Sayer (1989)) transition towards a society based not on production but on services obviously implies some sort of accompanying urban transition. Given Goad's focus on collecting data for the retail industry however, it is expected that appropriateness of the dataset that was used may be called into question, due to the particularities of site selection in Goad's surveys.

The role of chains in the city has become one of the dominant themes in recent urban literature. Chains have been characterised as representing the penetration of organised capital into the landscape (Luxenberg, 1986; Jones, 1991), as central to the image making of the 'modern' city, and as a indicator of the increasing homogeneity of the city (de Certeau, 1984; Augé, 1995). It has been widely asserted that the intersection of the worlds of consumption and capital have weakened local distinctiveness (Sack, 1988; Crewe, 1994) and represented the local component of wider globalisation discourses (Cooke, 1990; Massey, 1994). The universality of these discourses, especially the wider globalisation and consumption discourses, have however been increasingly called into question, with many authors (Massey, 1994; Crewe and Lowe, 1995;

Jackson and Thrift, 1995) calling for detailed local study of these phenomenon to develop a greater understanding of the local impact and nature of these changes.

While the previous chapter provided several different possible definitions of homogeneity (i.e. changing numbers of distinct uses, changes in dominant types of uses), here we analyse questions of homogeneity by using analyses of the changing roles of 'chains' and 'multiples' as metaphors for homogeneity. By using definitions of 'chains' as synonymous with national and international 'brands' (and other 'image' driven occupants), and by defining 'multiples' as sites whose occupants also occupy additional sites elsewhere within the study Regions in the same year (rather than treating them as synonymous with 'chains'), this data allows us to generate an understanding of not only the levels of homogeneity between the study Regions and the 'wider' world through the study of 'chains', but also allows us to examine the relative levels of homogeneity **within** the two study Regions (via the analysis of 'multiples').

7.1: Streets of Leisure: The role of leisure and pleasure

All of the data in the database constructed from Goad's surveys was divided in to a number of different classifications, depending on what analyses we wished to pursue. So while all sites were classified into five Broad Use Classifications (i.e. retail, leisure, services, institutional and all other uses), which allowed the identification of broad shifts in types of uses in the study Regions, it was realised that this was not appropriate if we wished to study in particular detail any changes in leisure uses, as many leisure-related sites were obviously part of the retail and services classifications.

Thus an additional classification scheme was developed, which identified all sites which were leisure-related into Leisure Use Classifications (LUC). This data was then used as the basis for analyses of the changing role of leisure in the street. This data was complemented where appropriate with many of the data constructs that were first used in the previous chapter: for example data from the LUC classification was combined with that from the BUC classifications to enable the identification of retail-leisure sites, while the Condensed Use

Classification (CUC) was used as the basis for analysing change in the actual types of leisure site uses.

The analysis of leisure change begins with an examination of the role of leisure in the two study Regions, and explores whether there have been identifiable changes in the number of leisure sites and if there are particular patters of change both geographically and over the length of the study period. This is followed by an examination of the changing levels of concentration of leisure sites in the Areas surrounding the Royal Mile in the St. Giles study Region, as these Areas show the highest levels of leisure concentration in the entire study. From this, the changing types of leisure uses are examined, with a focus on the dramatic changes in the composition of the use profiles of each Region between 1978 and 1994. This is complemented by an examination of the changing relationship between retailing and leisure on the one hand and retailing and services on the other.

The relevance of the question of 'leisure change' is examined in some detail in the final section, which looks in detail at the increasing role of food and alcohol providers in the urban street, and specifically at their place within the wider definitions of 'leisure uses' and discourses surrounding the leisure city.

7.1.1: The growth of leisure uses

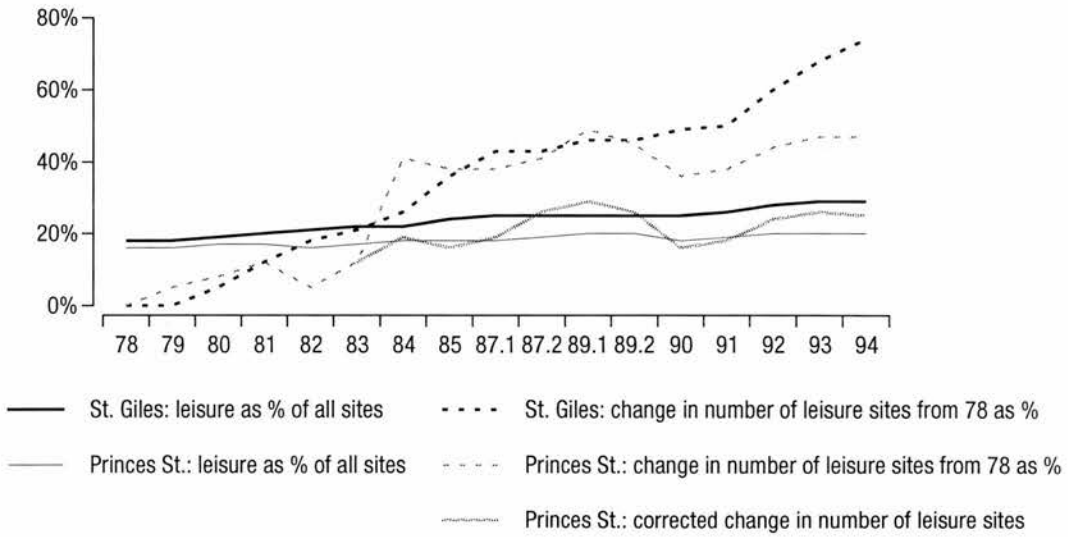


Figure 7.1: The changing role of Leisure, 1978-94

Figure 7.1 shows the changing role of leisure uses in the St. Giles and Princes

Street Regions. Several key points are immediately obvious: despite the reputation of the St. Giles Region as a tourist centre, there is very little difference between the proportions of leisure sites as a percentage of all sites in the two Regions in 1978. Over the course of the study period, however, greater distinctions emerge, as the number of leisure sites in the St. Giles Region grows by 74%, while the number of leisure sites in the Princes Street Region grows by 'only' 47%.

There is something of a discrepancy between the overall increase in numbers of Leisure sites in the St. Giles Region, and the corresponding overall percentage increase of Leisure sites as a percentage of all site uses. The overall percentage of leisure sites in St. Giles has increased from 18% of all sites in 1978 to 29% in 1994, an increase of some 61%, while there has been a 73% increase in the actual numbers of leisure sites. It is expected that a substantial portion of this discrepancy can be attributed to the 5% increase in the number of sites with in the St. Giles study Region, due primarily to the subdivision of existing buildings and subdivision of sites during new/re- development.

Analysis of the leisure use data in the Princes Street Region was more problematic. As shown in Figure 7.1, the increase in leisure uses in the Princes Street Region was some 55%. However, the sudden growth in numbers in leisure uses in 1984 is directly related to the expansion of the number of sites within the Goad survey area by some 22%, with the addition of the newly constructed Waverly Centre, and additional blocks of sites along Shandwick and Queensferry Streets at the west end of Princes' Street. This change is particularly felt with the inclusion after its construction of the Waverly Centre (i.e. Area 4), which accounted for 42% of the increase in the numbers of leisure sites between 1983 and 1984 (even when half-empty), and which just two years later (by January 1987) accounted for some 11% of the total number of leisure uses in the whole of Goad's Princes Street Region, with a food court that alone accounted for almost 8% of the total number of leisure uses.

While the development of the Waverly Centre has significantly redefined the types of facilities within the Princes Street study Region, it was felt that including this leisure data significantly altered the pattern of change of these

sites, and to a large degree this marked shift acts to absorbs the detail of subsequent changes in street-level leisure provision. For these reasons, it was felt necessary to adjust the numbers in the Goad data to exclude the Waverly Centre and the additions along Shandwick and Queensferry Streets, and as a result a substantially different pattern of change emerges, indicating a growth in leisure uses over the study period of 'only' 20%. In comparison with the data for the St. Giles Region, this data shows that after the late 80s, while there has been some variation in the overall numbers of leisure sites, there does not appear to be any trend towards a continued overall increase in leisure uses.

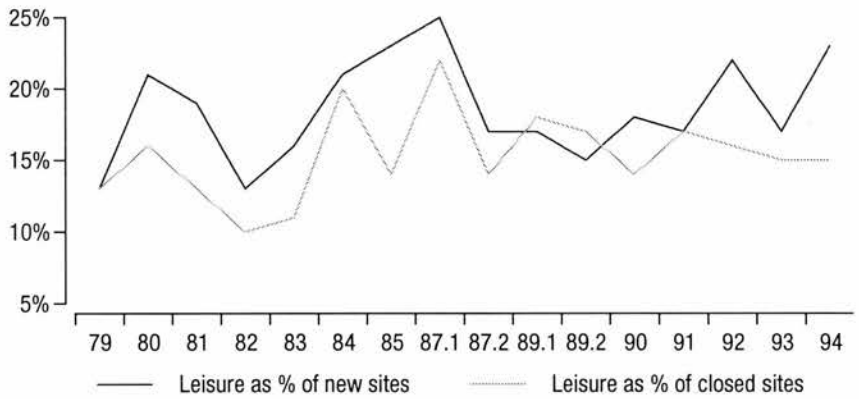


Figure 7.2: St. Giles Leisure Change

Figure 7.2 shows a consistent trend of year on year growth of leisure sites in St. Giles, with there being only two years in which the number of new leisure sites did not exceed the number of leisure sites who closed. If we compare this data with that for Princes Street (Figure 7.3), we see that the data is much more opaque, and does not provide such a clear indication of the nature of the pattern of leisure change, there being considerably more year to year variation, although the overall numbers of new and closed leisure sites is considerably less than for the St. Giles Region, which indicates that change in those leisure sites is perhaps more likely to be characterised by a higher rate of churn than in the Princes Street sites.

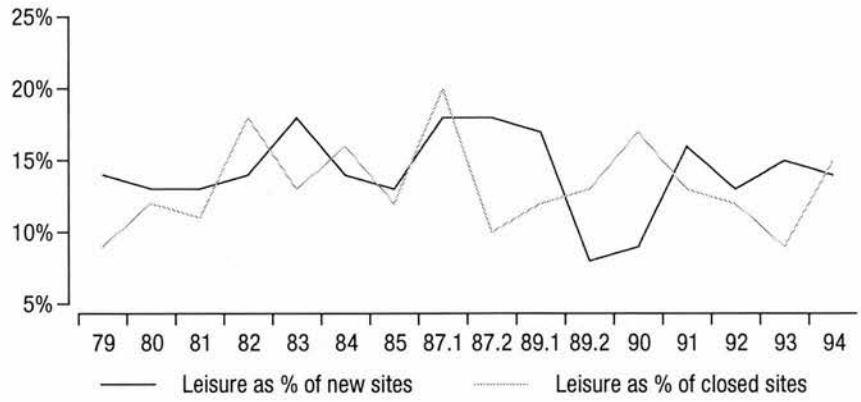


Figure 7.3: Princes Street Leisure Change

This is clearly seen in Figure 7.3, which shows that over the length of the study period in the Princes Street Region there were six years where the percentage of leisure sites amongst new sites was lower than the percentage of leisure sites in all sites that closed in the preceding year. From this, given a roughly stable number of leisure sites, and fairly stable rates of change within the Region (c.f. Chapter 6), we can conclude that it was not uncommon for Princes Street leisure sites to close faster than they were opened, a situation which happened only twice in the St. Giles Region. This problematises wider assumptions about the role and growth of leisure uses, especially when combined with the limited rates of growth of leisure uses in the Princes Street Region overall. It is clear that even in this fairly typical 'high street' the assumptions about the increasing role of leisure are not supported by the evidence 'on the ground'.

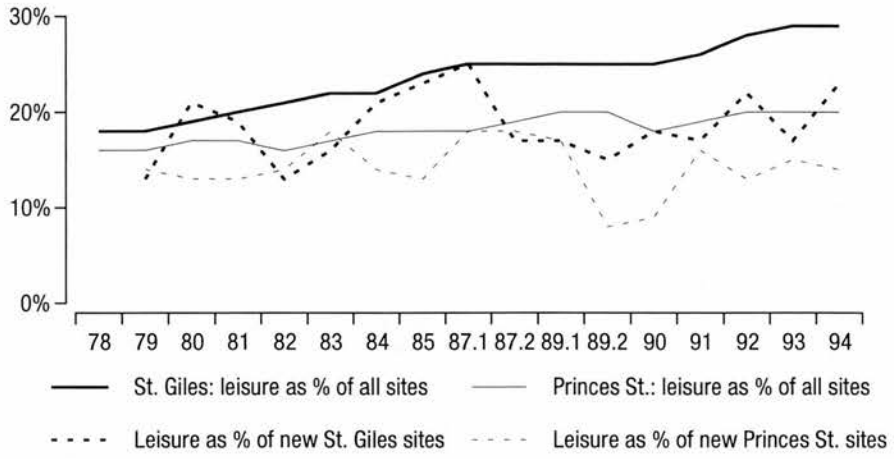
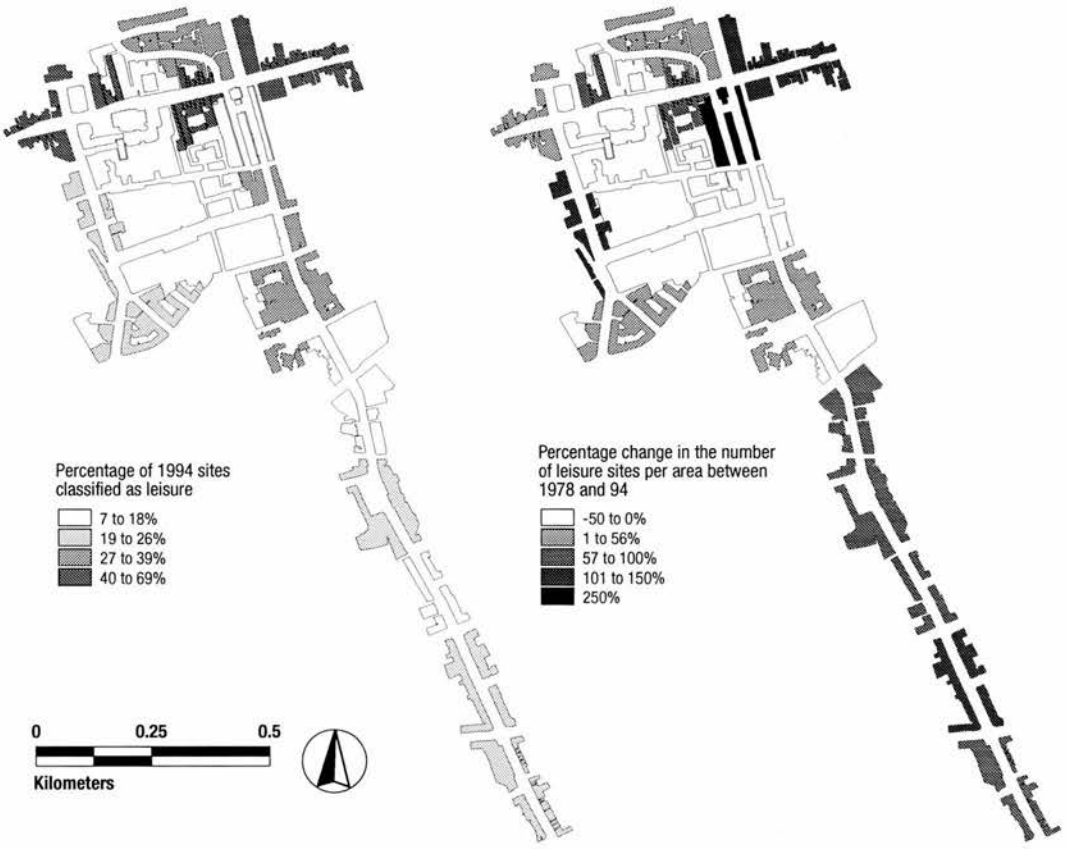


Figure 7.4: Comparison between new and existing percentages of leisure sites, St. Giles and Princes Street regions, 1978-94

Figure 7.4 shows the relationship between the numbers of new leisure sites each year and the overall numbers of leisure sites. The most significant data is that which compares the numbers of new leisure sites in the St. Giles Region with the existing percentage of leisure sites: this is the only time (in both Regions, for any use classification) where the percentage of new sites exceeds the overall existing percentage of that use-type. This indicates a very rapid increase in the numbers of leisure sites during these peaks, although it must be recognised that the leisure percentage of new sites varied considerably in and between both study Regions over the course of the study. The trend towards cumulative increases in the number of leisure sites in the St. Giles Region is however very clear.

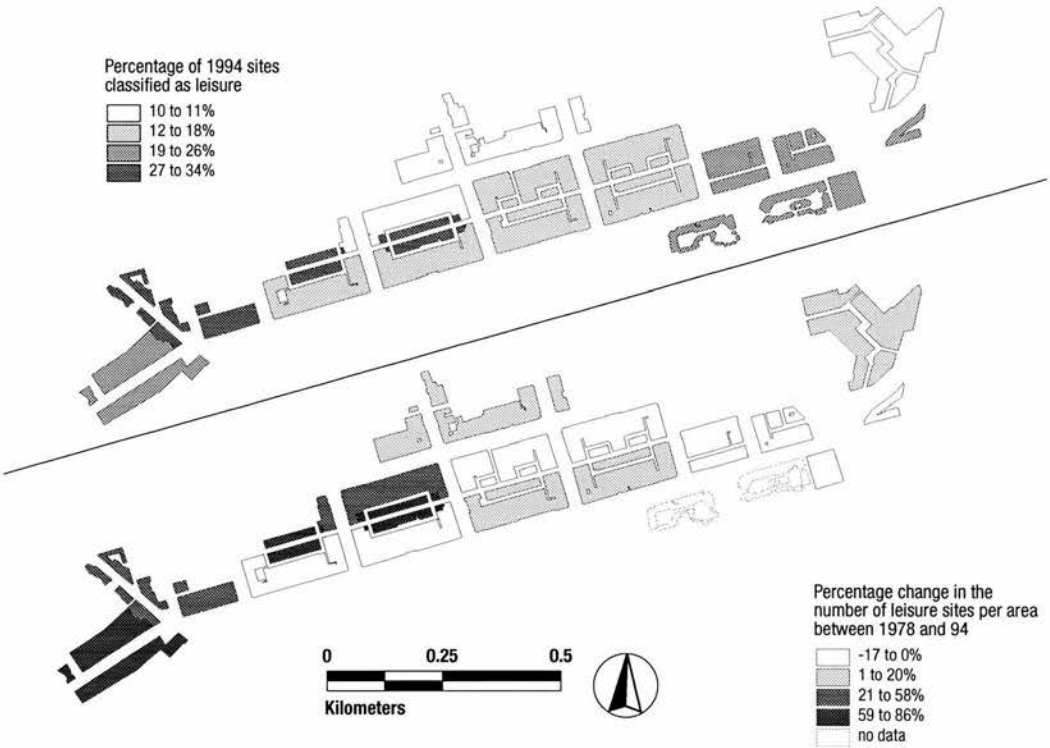


Map 7.1: St. Giles Leisure sites (including takeaways)

Map 7.1 shows the distribution and change of leisure sites in the St. Giles Region. Two Areas of high concentrations of leisure uses are apparent, along the length of the Royal Mile to the north of the St. Giles study Region and around Newington to the south, where there are large numbers of pubs, restaurants and travel agents serving the local and student populations. The data indicates that there are three Areas in 1994 where the percentage of leisure sites exceeds 50% of all sites, and nine (out of sixteen) where more than a quarter of all sites are leisure-related. It is also clear that there have been significant amounts of growth in the numbers of leisure sites, with the maximum concentration of leisure sites (in Area 5, the Lawnmarket) rising from just under 50% in 1978, when only four Areas were more than 20% leisure uses, to a peak of over 70% in 1993, with seven Areas with 20% or more of all sites classified as leisure uses.

It should be noted though that despite these large increases in the numbers of leisure sites in these Areas, there were still Areas that showed little, if any increase in the numbers of leisure sites, together with those showing very low

levels of leisure site uses. While in 1994 on average 33% of all sites in the Region were leisure related (excluding takeaways), there were still nine Areas where less than 20% of uses were leisure related, and two Areas where this drops below 10%. In addition, a number of the more significant percentage shifts in the numbers of leisure sites per Area are somewhat exaggerated, as in many Areas the initial leisure numbers were very small indeed: twelve Areas contained less than 10 leisure sites in 1978, with seven Areas containing less than five leisure sites.* The result of this is not only a significant concentration of leisure sites in particular Areas, but an marked increase in the overall concentration of leisure sites within the overall St. Giles Region: the five Areas with the highest concentrations of leisure uses in 1978 saw a 68% growth in leisure uses over the study period, while the remaining Areas leisure uses increased by 38%.



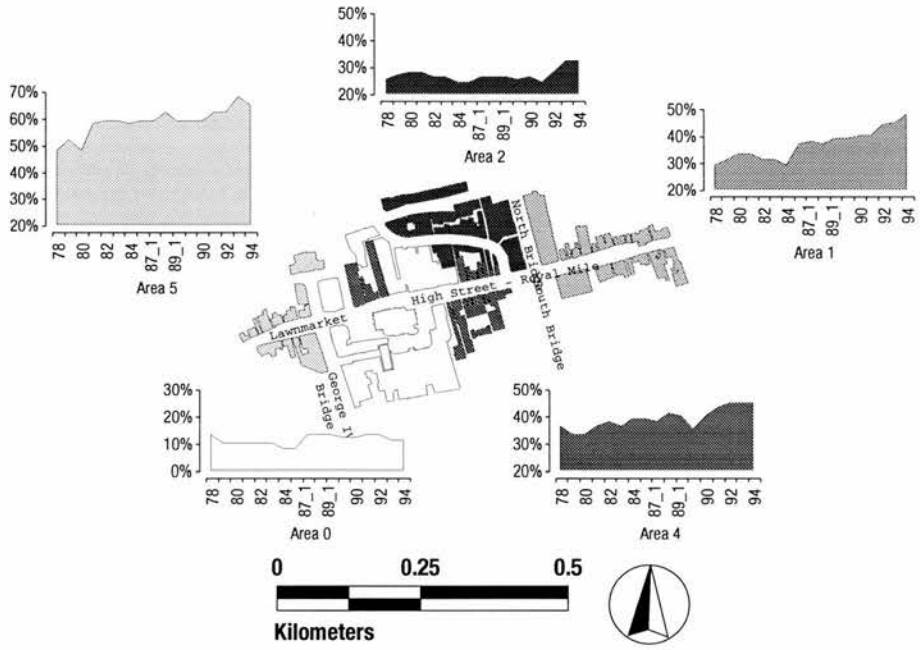
Map 7.2: Princes Street Leisure sites (including takeaways)

The data for the Princes Street Region also shows considerable growth in the numbers of leisure sites, though it does not show the same degree of concentration of these sites that is evident in the St. Giles Region. The data

* On average, each of the St. Giles areas contained 45 sites in 1978, and 48 in 1994.

indicates a considerable broadening of the distribution of leisure uses over the length of the study: the 5 Areas with the highest proportion of leisure sites in 1978 showed **no growth** in leisure uses over the next seventeen years, while the remaining sites saw an increase of 89%, reflecting a considerable broadening of the geographic spread of leisure uses. It is noticeable that the relative proportion of leisure sites along Princes Street itself, as well as in the St. James' Centre, is relatively low, especially in comparison with the St. Giles Region.*

7.1.2: Leisure Concentrations in the Royal Mile



Map 7.3: Leisure (including takeaways) and the Royal Mile, 1978-94

As has been indicated, the leisure data for the St. Giles Areas indicates a high degree of concentration of leisure uses around the Royal Mile. Areas 1, 4 and 5, which comprise the High Street (Areas 1 and 4) and Lawnmarket (Area 5), represented 19% of all the sites in the St. Giles Region while containing 39% of all the leisure sites in the whole of the St. Giles Region in 1994, an increase from 35% in 1978. Over this period, the number of leisure sites in these Areas alone increased by 86%, in comparison to an increase of 67% in the remaining thirteen the Areas of the Region.

* There are five areas in the St. Giles region that had higher proportions of leisure uses in 1994 than the highest proportion in the Princes Street area.

If we re-define leisure to exclude all pubs, restaurants and takeaway -food providers, this picture of significant concentrations of leisure uses becomes even clearer. In 1978 these three Areas accounted for some 43% of all leisure uses in the entire St. Giles Region: by 1994 this had increased even further to some 51% of all leisure uses concentrated in only 19% of the Region's sites.

As Map 7.3 shows, this concentration of leisure sites is very clearly oriented along the course of the Royal Mile. Both Area 2 (Cockburn Street) and Area 0 (the institutional buildings around St. Giles' Cathedral) show significantly lower levels of leisure uses. With the substantial redevelopment of the physical fabric of Cockburn Street, there has been a slow rise in the number of leisure sites from the early 90s. Both Areas show levels of leisure sites that are typical of the remaining Areas of the St. Giles Region.

7.1.3: Changing Leisure Uses

1978 Leisure uses		1994 Leisure Uses		% Change since 1978
P. H.	46	P. H.	49	6.5%
Restaurant	26	Restaurant	45	73%
Misc. Goods (inc. gifts)	9	Takeaway food	39	388%
Takeaway food	8	Misc. Goods (inc. gifts)	12	33%
Outdoor & Sports Goods	7	Travel Agent	11	450%
Antiques	5	Scottish Goods	9	125%
Hotel etc.	5	Gallery	8	400%
Scottish Goods	4	Clothing	7	250%
Museum	4	Hotel etc.	7	40%
Theatre/cinema	3	Outdoor & Sports Goods	7	0%
Travel Agent	2	Tourist Services	6	500%
Offices	2	Antiques	6	20%
Gallery	2	Museum	5	25%
Bingo Hall	2	Amusement Arcade	5	500%
Clothing	2	Bingo Hall	2	0%
Crafts	1	Theatre/cinema	3	0%
Tourist Services	1	Hall	1	100%
		Off License	1	100%
		Jeweller	1	100%
Grand Total	129	Grand Total	224	74%

Table 7.1: St. Giles Leisure uses (Condensed Use Classification), 1978-94

As we can see from Table 7.1, there have been some substantive changes in the numbers and types of leisure uses in the St. Giles Region over the length of

the study period.* While the overall numbers show numerous enormous percentage increases in the numbers of many leisure uses, much of this can be attributed to the relatively small numbers of many leisure uses, despite the aggregation inherent in the use of a broad usage classification. Arguably, this may make these increases appear to be somewhat more impressive than is the case. That being said, there are across the board increases in many of the staple tourist facilities: travel agents, hotels, museums, galleries and tourist services, together with a slight increase in the numbers of different leisure uses.

The most significant exception to this is the huge increase in the number of takeaway food providers and restaurants: this is examined in more detail in Section 7.1.6:: Food and Leisure.

1978 Leisure Uses		1994 Leisure Uses		% Change since 1978
P. H.	30	P. H.	32	6%
Restaurant	25	Restaurant	32	28%
Travel Agent	10	Takeaway food	23	1050%
Outdoor & Sports Goods	7	Outdoor & Sports Goods	17	143%
Scottish Goods	5	Travel Agent	16	60%
Hotel etc.	4	Scottish Goods	5	0%
Takeaway foods	2	Hotel etc.	2	-50%
Misc. Goods	1	Off License	1	100%
Clothing	1	Gallery	1	100%
Grand Total	85	Grand Total	132	55%

Table 7.2: Princes St. Leisure uses (Condensed Use Classification), 1978-94

Perhaps surprisingly, the Princes Street data shows no increase in the overall number of different leisure uses, although there have been changes in the uses themselves. It is clear that the number of uses is markedly lower than for the St. Giles Region, even with roughly comparable penetration of leisure sites in both Regions. The Goad usage data for 1978 shows seventeen different leisure uses, nine of which occupy only one site, while by 1994 this has increased to 27 different uses, eleven of which occupy only one site. These numbers are markedly lower than the number of Goad uses in the St. Giles Region. This may

* The relatively small increase in the numbers of different types of uses is attributable to the use of the Condensed Use Classification. If we use Goad's use definitions, there were 42 different leisure uses in 1978, of which 26 were represented by single sites, while by 1994 there were 53 different uses, 33 of which had only one example in the whole of the St. Giles study region.

be related to the pivotal role of the dominant leisure uses in the Princes Street Region: the five numerically dominant site uses represent 91% of all leisure site uses, compared to 70% in the St. Giles Region, which indicates that comparatively speaking the Princes Street Region offers a much more limited leisure provision than does the St. Giles Region, which is supported by the lower number of use types that are present*.

Like the St. Giles Region, the Princes Street study Region shows both a marked increase in the number of restaurants, but also an even more significant increase in the numbers of takeaway food providers, who grow from the second smallest leisure category to the third largest over the length of the study period. The Princes Street data also shows a significant increase in the number of Outdoor/Sporting goods stores, while the St. Giles Region shows no increase whatsoever. This can be directly linked to the increasing commercialisation of sport and the increasing number of High-Street 'athletic' stores. It is also noticeable that while the St. Giles data shows a considerable increase in the numbers of tourist-related services, no such increase was detected in the Princes Street data.

7.1.4: Retailing and Leisure

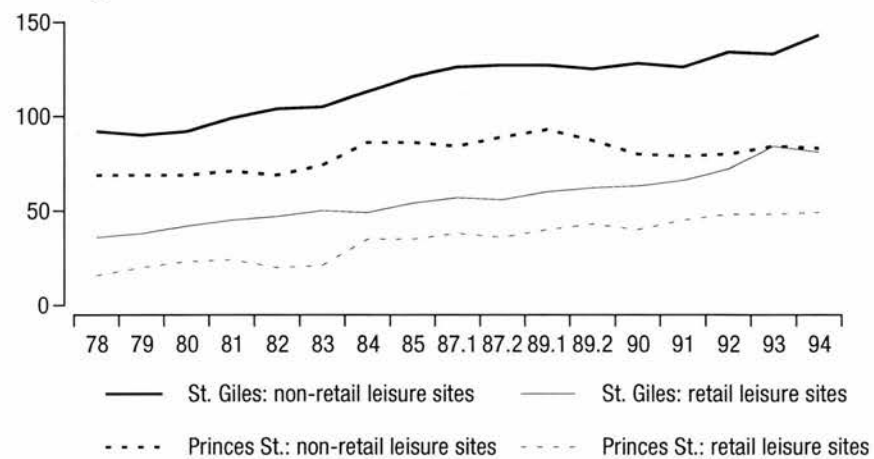


Figure 7.5: Retail and non-retail leisure sites (including takeaways)

* It should be noted though that due to the number of large multi-use sites along Princes Street, the use counts inevitably under-estimate the number of uses within the area, given that many sites are not correctly identified as multi-use by Goad. This results in the exclusion of restaurants in department stores from the database, for example.

As Figure 7.3 showed, the data indicate consistent rises in the both the number of sites primarily oriented towards leisure (the 'non-retail leisure sites') and also consistent and steady growth in the numbers of retail sites who were felt during classification to also provide leisure related products/services.

Over the length of the study period the numbers of leisure-oriented retail sites grew by some 125% in the St. Giles Region, and an even larger 188% in the Princes Street Region. Once again we find the data for the Princes Street Region affected by the expansion of the Goad survey area in 1984, as there is an immediate 66% increase in the number of these sites.

Not only have these numbers increased significantly, they also show that the overall role of retail-leisure has grown substantially during the study period. In the St. Giles Region, at the start of the study in 1978 these sites accounted for some 9% of all retail sites: by 1994 their overall share had more than doubled to almost 23% of all the retail sites in the St. Giles Region. A similar, but less pronounced picture emerges in the Princes Street Region, with a growth from almost 6% of all retail sites to just over 13%.

The exact nature of this growth however is highly dependent upon the classification for these retail-leisure sites. The classification system that was used to classify sites into the five Broad Use Categories defined all retail-related sites as retail sites, even if they also provided leisure or service facilities. The result of this was that all sites that provided retail services to tourists, for example, were given a BUC classification as retail sites (and not as leisure sites), while also receiving a Leisure Use Classification that reflected their tourist orientation. Cross-referencing the BUC and LUC classifications allowed for the identification of significant numbers of retail-leisure sites.

However, it can be argued that a significant fraction of the growth identified can be attributed to particular decisions made while classifying these sites, as the majority of convenience food stores* were classified as retail sites who also fulfil a leisure role. As we have seen in Table 7.1, in the St. Giles Region these

* Takeaway food shops, chip shops, kebab houses, baked potato stores and so on.

takeaway food sites grew by some 388% during the study period. This represents a substantial growth of the largest single use within the retail-leisure sites in the St. Giles Region, takeaway food sites representing some 22% of all retail-leisure sites in 1978, and rising to 48% by the end of the study period in 1994. If we exclude the data for takeaway food sites from these calculations, we find that the growth of retail-leisure sites has still had a considerable, albeit less marked impact, growing in number by 50% over the length of the study period. This represents an increase from 7% of all retail sites (excluding takeaways) to over 13% by 1994, an increase of some 82%*: a large increase but considerably smaller than if we include the data for takeaway food sites.

The picture for the retail-leisure data for the Princes Street Region is almost identical to that of the St. Giles Region: the number of retail leisure sites have increased by 188%, although this drops to 64% when we exclude takeaways. The increase in these sites as a percentage of the retail sites in the Region is rather more modest than in the St. Giles Region, growing from 5 to 7% of all retail sites.

7.1.5: Leisure Services

During the classification of leisure sites, a category of sites called 'leisure facilitators' was developed. These sites were those that were not leisure sites themselves (so excluding hotels, restaurants etc. which were included in the broader category of 'leisure sites') but which either provided services to tourists (e.g. Bureau de Change), or provided particular leisure-oriented goods (e.g. sports stores) and services (e.g. travel agencies).

* If we **exclude** all takeaway food sites from the total number of retail sites, the number of retail sites in the St. Giles region has dropped by 17.4% over the length of the study period, despite the 5% increase in the overall number of sites in the study area. This substantial change is a combination of a 9% drop in the overall numbers of **all** retail sites, and the growth of takeaway food sites which represented some 12% of all retail sites in 1994. This accounts for the apparent discrepancy between the two sets of numbers.

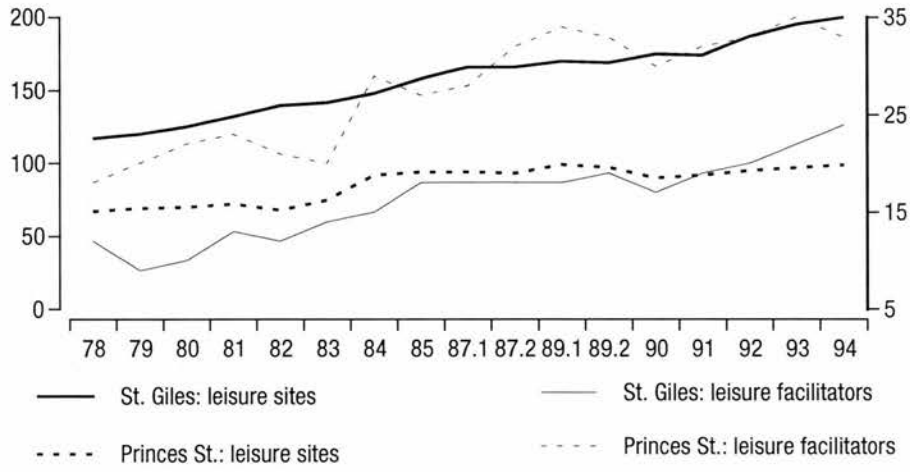


Figure 7.6: Types of leisure sites (including takeaways)

The distribution of these leisure facilitators proved somewhat unexpected: despite the much higher numbers of leisure sites in the St. Giles Region, there were rather more leisure facilitators in the Princes Street Region. This can be attributed to the large numbers of pseudo sports store chains and other suppliers of active wear that are attracted to the Princes Street retail environment. The noticeable gyrations in the numbers of leisure facilitators in the Princes Street data is caused by the relatively small sample size, in combination with the impact of the expansion of the Goad dataset in 1984

7.1.6: Food and Leisure

As we have seen in the previous sections, the role of various food providers can represent a key variable in the analysis of leisure and leisure change. The raw data in Table 7.1 and Table 7.2 indicated that there have been substantial changes in the numbers of restaurants and takeaway sites during the study period, but do not show the overall influence these sites have in the makeup of leisure sites across the two study Regions.

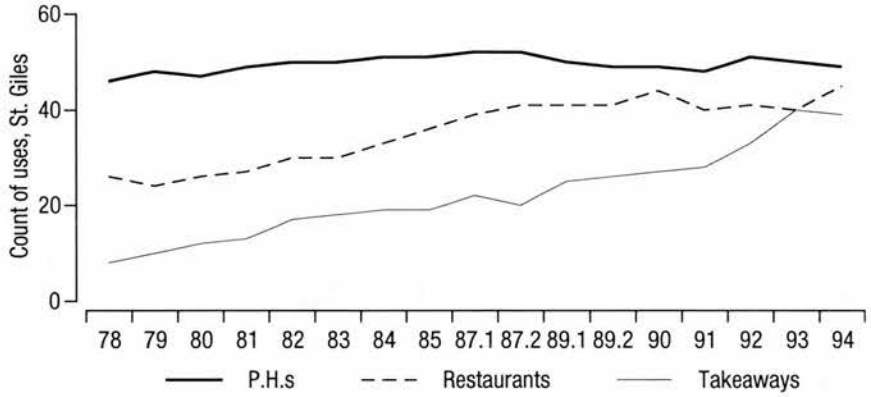


Figure 7.7: The growth of restaurants and takeaway food providers, St. Giles, 1978-94

Figure 7.7 show the considerable amount of change in the numbers of restaurants and takeaway food providers in the St. Giles Region. While the numbers of pubs has remained broadly constant, the numbers of restaurants has increased by 78%, with the numbers of takeaway food providers increasing by 388% during the same period.

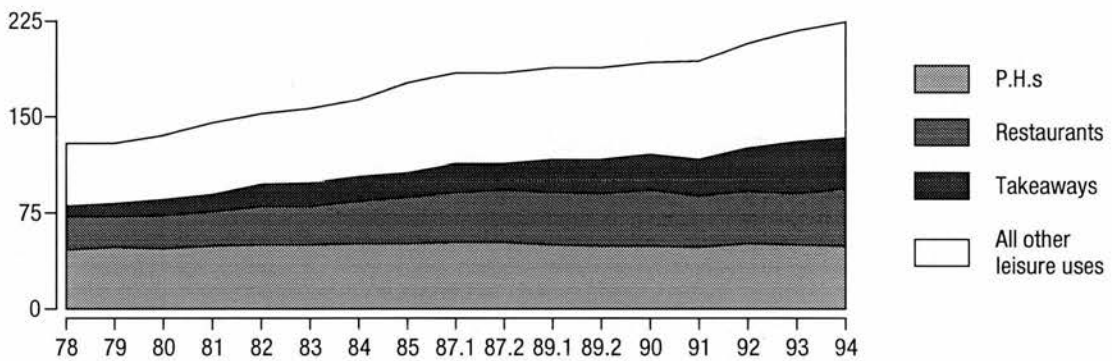


Figure 7.8: St. Giles — the roles of leisure, eating and drinking

Figure 7.8 shows the relationship between these uses and the remaining leisure uses in the St. Giles Region. As we can see, the overall consistent rates of growth in the numbers of leisure sites has been matched by a increases in the numbers of pubs, restaurants and takeaway food providers.*

* There has actually been a slight decline in the relative numbers of pubs, restaurants and takeaways from 62% to slightly under 60% of all leisure sites.

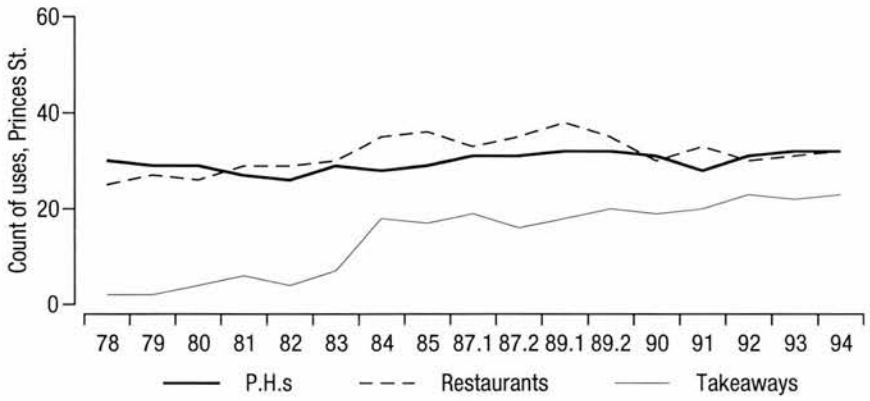


Figure 7.9: The growth of restaurants and takeaway food providers, Princes' Street, 1978-94

In contrast, the data for the Princes Street Region shows slightly different overall trends. The overall numbers of restaurants in 1994 had increased by some 28%, rather less than in the St. Giles Region and considerably down from a peak increase of 52% in the beginning of 1989. By contrast, the St. Giles data shows no similar decline in the middle of the survey period. The numbers of takeaways rises markedly in 1984, primarily as a result of the addition of the Waverly Shopping Centre and its food court, which provides a disproportionate influence on the later data for takeaways in the Region, although there are also a number of other takeaway sites that appear for the first time as a result of the contemporaneous expansion of Areas 5 and 6 by Goad.

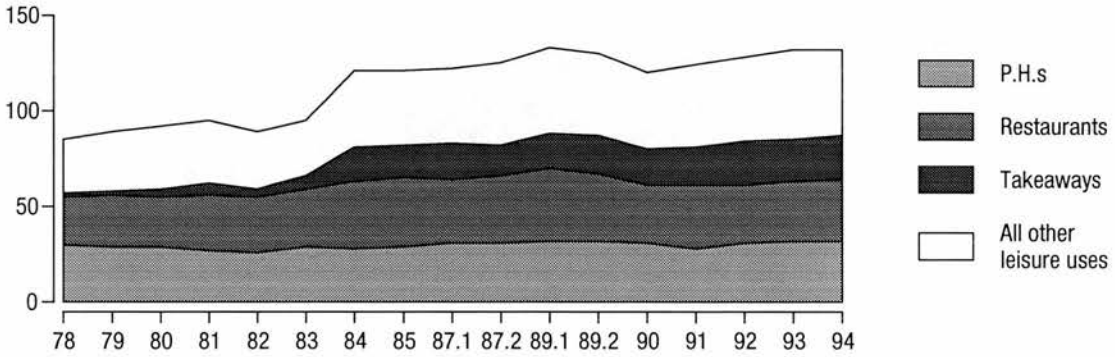
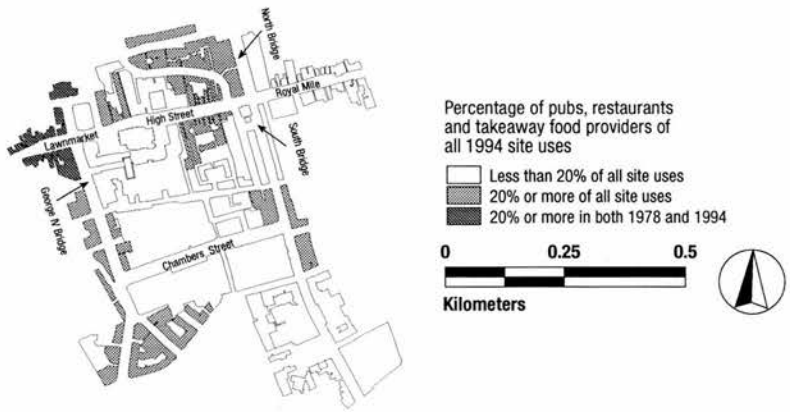


Figure 7.10: Princes Street — the roles of leisure, eating and drinking

Figure 7.10 clearly shows that, unlike in the St. Giles Region, if we exclude the sudden jump in leisure uses due to the expansion of the Goad data set in 1984, the overall numbers of pubs, restaurants and takeaways in the Princes Street Region is broadly stable (in numerical terms) over the period of the study. In contrast, the St. Giles data shows a slow but steady increase in the numbers of

these leisure sites over the whole length of the study period. Casual observation indicates that this trend in the St. Giles Region has continued unabated.

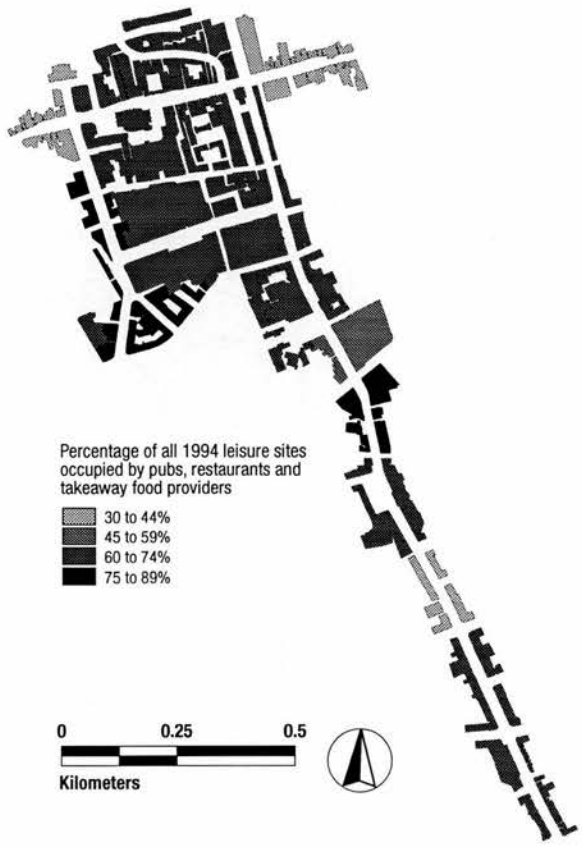
The shift towards the increasing overall importance of these sites can be seen from the growth of restaurants/pubs/takeaways etc. as a proportion of all sites over the study period: in 1978 there was only one Area in both the St. Giles and Princes Street study Regions where restaurants/pubs comprised over 20% of all site uses, but by 1994 this had increased to seven Areas, representing 26% of all of the Areas in both Regions.



Map 7.4: High concentrations of pubs/restaurants etc. in St. Giles, 1994

This shift was primarily concentrated in the St. Giles Region, where restaurants/pubs were more than 20% of all site uses in six of the sixteen Areas (i.e. 38%).

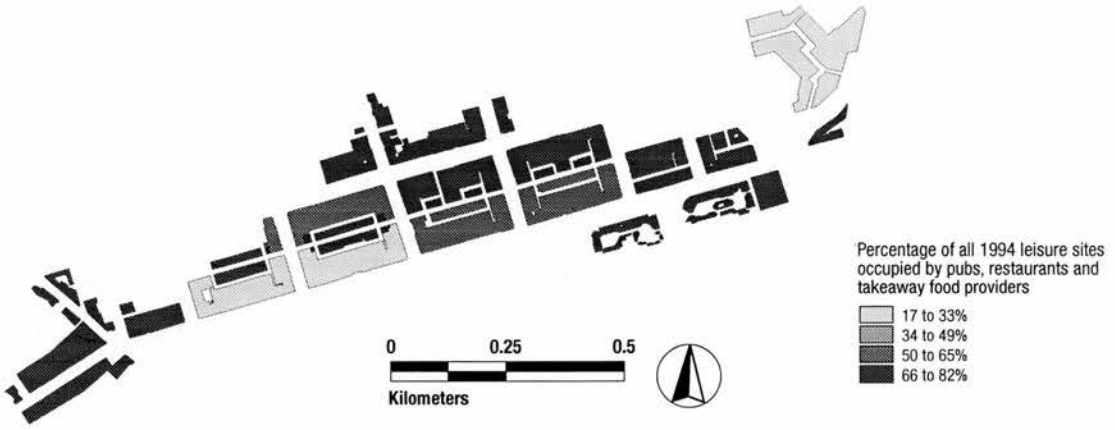
As Map 7.4 shows, these relatively high levels of concentration of similar uses are themselves clustered within the Old Town itself. The single instance of this high level of concentration of pubs/restaurants etc. in the Princes Street Region is the food court of the Waverly Shopping Centre.



Map 7.5: The role of eating and drinking in Leisure: St. Giles, 1994

Overall, pubs, restaurants and takeaways represent a significant proportion of the leisure uses in each Area. As Map 7.5 shows, in 1994 these sites represented more than 50% of all leisure uses in thirteen of the sixteen Areas, although in 1978 this was true in fifteen Areas. If we compare Map 7.4 and Map 7.5, it becomes clear that the two Areas along the Royal Mile have relatively low percentages of pubs and restaurants etc. (in terms of leisure sites) due to the high number of tourist/heritage related leisure sites that also exist in these Areas.*

* The relatively low percentage of these sites in Area 12 is due to (relatively) high numbers of sites offering leisure services, notably a small cluster of travel agents.



Map 7.6: The role of eating and drinking in Leisure: Princes' Street, 1994

It is clear that pubs and restaurants represent the dominant forms of leisure facilities in the majority of Areas in the Princes Street Region. Map 7.6 shows that only two Areas have relatively low concentrations of pubs and restaurants within their leisure uses, one being an enclosed shopping mall without a food court (the St. James Centre, which has since constructed one) and the other being a stretch of Princes Street dominated by chains and retailing, which has only one restaurant identified by Goad*.

While there has been increasing attention paid in the literature to leisure concepts like 'the 24 hour city' in Leeds, and re-definitions of leisure to focus on spectacles and new forms of festive time strategies (Landry, Bianchini et al., 1995; Hughes, 1999), it was thought that it would be possible to identify shifts in what we might describe as 'evening leisure' sites in the study Regions. In practice, this was somewhat more problematic. While it is relatively trivial to identify the pubs, restaurants and clubs in the Regions, this leaves a number of other sites whose classification is more problematic. Most important in this group is the numbers of convenience food sites that have opened during the course of the study: many, like the ubiquitous chip shop and kebab house are primarily oriented towards evening custom: others, like delicatessens and sandwich shops have opening hours that approximate office hours, while still others (like the numerous baked potato shops) straddle both categories.

* It is arguable that the low representation of restaurants along Princes Street is caused by Goad's misidentification of sites with multiple different internal uses, which systematically ignores the restaurants provided by a number of department stores facing Princes Street.

In addition to the food-related sites that we have identified, there are also numbers of retail sites that are open during the evenings, including off licences, numerous mass market and discount bookstores, some pharmacies and large numbers of sites in the Princes Street Region are open some evenings as part of the local council's evening shopping initiative.

Given that collectively takeaway food sites represent just under a third of all food-related sites (cf. Figure 7.7 and Figure 7.9) which form a considerable part of the leisure spectrum, and the difficulty in accurately identifying which (if any) retail sites are regularly open during the evenings, it was felt that the dataset did not provide an appropriate mechanism to study these changes, as it was felt that the identification of these sites would become a purely subjective exercise. The most appropriate mechanism to study these changes would be through contemporaneous street surveys, possibly combined with the Goad material.

7.2: Streets of Institutions, Streets of Services

The Broad Use Classification of all sites initially classified the relevant sites into service and institutional classifications. As it was felt that this under-estimated the numbers of service sites, as it often excluded leisure oriented service sites (Tourist Information Offices, for example) and did not by definition include many services run by the local council which provided information to the public, a Service Use Classification (SUC) was developed to help identify all possible service uses. As it was felt that the classification of institutional sites was fairly accurate, there was no need to provide a similar corrective re-classification.

The institutional data was then studied to determine whether there was any indication of any changes in the numbers of institutional sites in the two Region, or if there were any clear patterns of geographic change. Similar analyses were then performed on the service data, which was further broken down into several broad classifications of types of services. While these uses account for relatively low numbers of site uses within the two study Regions, they display high levels of site-persistence marking them as highly stable components of the urban streetscape.

7.2.1: The Institutional street

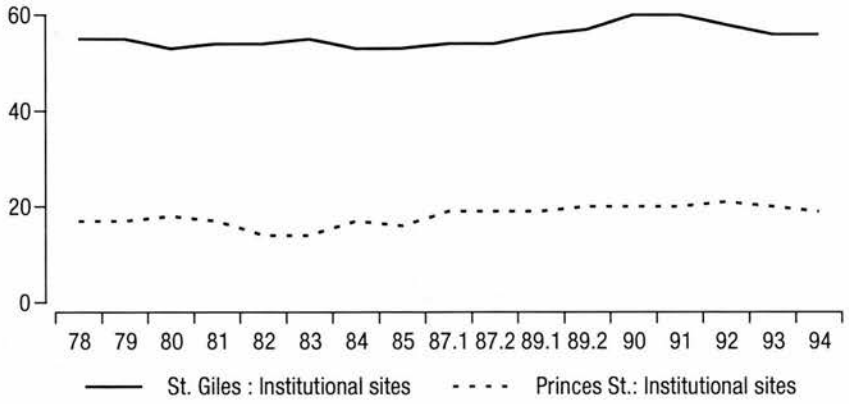
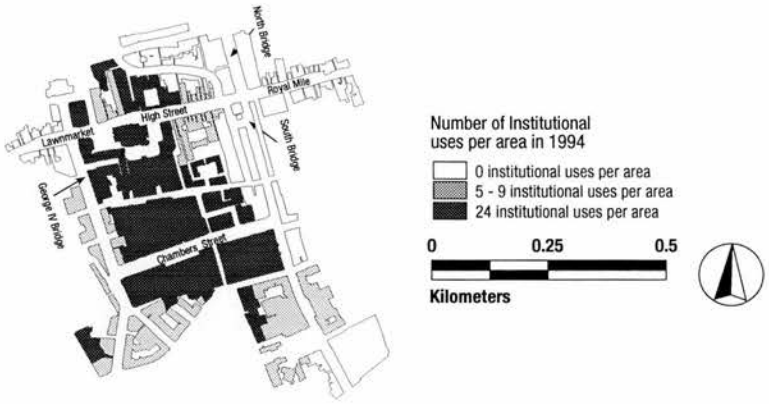


Figure 7.11: Count of Institutional sites in the St. Giles and Princes Street Regions

During site classification it was decided to group all government, council, academic (i.e. University), museum and church buildings under the Institutional use classification, which was the smallest of the five BUC classifications in both study Regions, especially so in the Princes Street Region*. The numbers of these uses in both Regions are essentially static over the whole of the study period, as indicated in Figure 7.11. This data infers that there is no evidence of an increasingly **explicit** institutional presence in the street, although the Goad data does not identify the occupant of many ancillary buildings, which probably results in a slight under-estimate of the numbers of council buildings in the area.

The data also does not identify sites owned by the council but occupied by other parties, with the result that many council owned properties are listed under the other Broad Use Classifications. This is equally true for the considerable St. Giles holdings of the University of Edinburgh. As a result of this, it is clear that simple counts of the number of explicitly labelled institutional buildings will inevitably underplay the wider impact institutions play in the street.

* For this reason these sites in the Princes Street region were not subject to separate analysis.



Map 7.7: Institutional uses in St. Giles, 1994

The significant degree of concentration of these uses in the St. Giles Region is highlighted in Map 7.7. While this concentration of institutional sites is admittedly somewhat exaggerated by the decision to group the numerous neighbouring sites in Area 0, where they represented 53% of all site uses in 1994, it is also clear that this represents an extremely high concentration of sites, given the exceptionally limited geographic spread of these sites in the remainder of the Region.

7.2.2: Services in the street

Of the five Broad Use Classifications, Services is the second smallest classification in both study Regions, with only the institutional classification having less overall representation. Just as a Leisure Use Classification (LUC) was constructed to ensure that all variations of leisure uses were tracked together, a Service Use Classification (SUC) was developed.

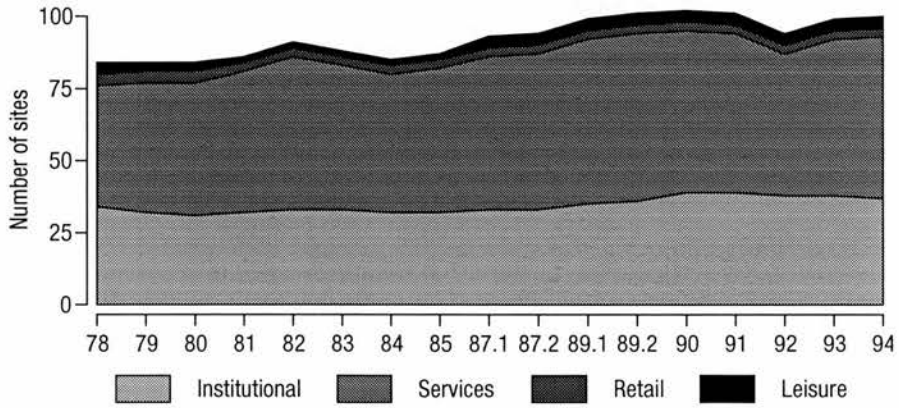


Figure 7.12: Use profile of all Service sites, St. Giles 1978-94

As we might expect, this resulted in the identification of a considerable degree of overlap between the service and institutional use classifications in the St. Giles Region, as indicated by Figure 7.12. The data indicates the stability of the numbers of institutional sites, and the slow overall rate of increase of all types of service sites over the study period. The small numbers of retail services is dominated Post Offices, while the leisure services are primarily council-run tourist services.

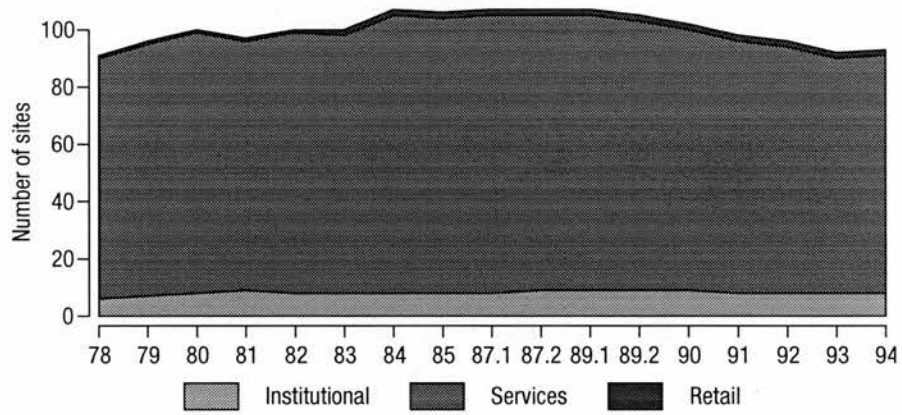


Figure 7.13: Use profile of all Service sites, Princes Street 1978-94

In contrast to the data for the St. Giles Region, the Princes Street Region shows a rather different profile of service use types. As earlier indicated, there are small numbers of institutional sites, but there are almost no other types of mixed-classification services present. In both Regions it is clear that the overall numbers of service sites remains broadly constant, with some variations, especially during the mid and late 80s.

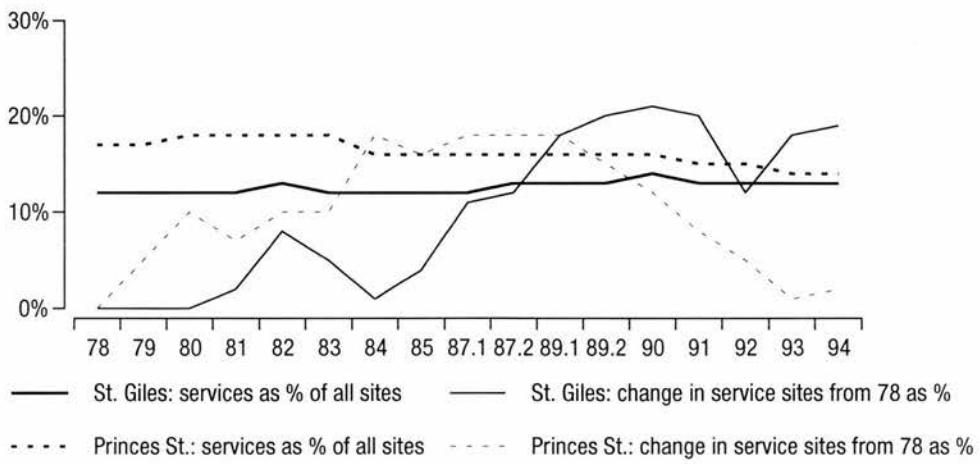


Figure 7.14: The changing role of Services, 1978-94

This is emphasised in Figure 7.14, which shows both the overall role of services and the patterns of change during the study period. While there are variations in the numbers of service sites, in overall terms the proportion of sites that are services is fairly low. It is clear that with the expansions of the two study Regions over the length of the study period that the numbers of service sites fluctuates, especially in the Princes Street Region, where the increases in numbers in the early 80s reaches a plateau before declining steeply after 1989 back to the initial 1978 levels. The pattern of increase in the St. Giles Region appears to be somewhat similar to that of the Princes Street Region, and indeed seems to mirror it to a large degree, although changes seem to be lagging the Princes Street experience by three years.

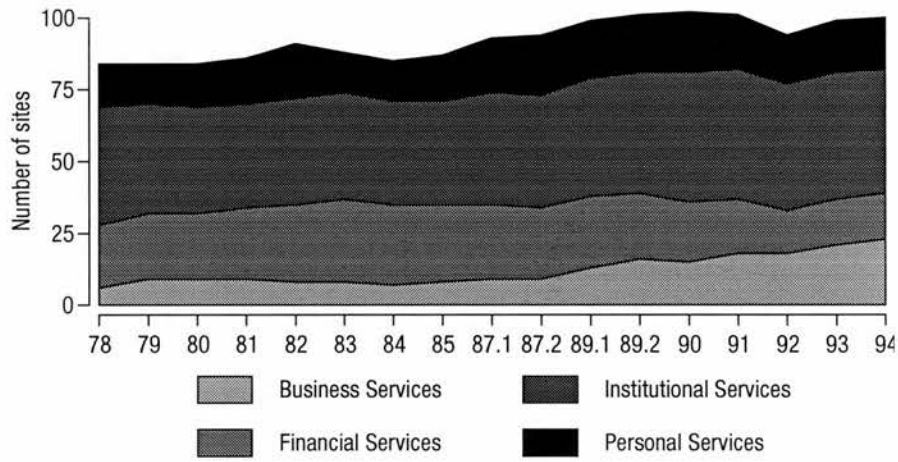


Figure 7.15: Service Use Classifications, St. Giles 1978-94

It is also clear that the composition of these service uses varies considerably across the two Regions. The St. Giles Region displays a broad variety of different service use types, though institutional service uses dominate. In comparison, the Princes Street service uses are dominated by significant numbers of financial services.

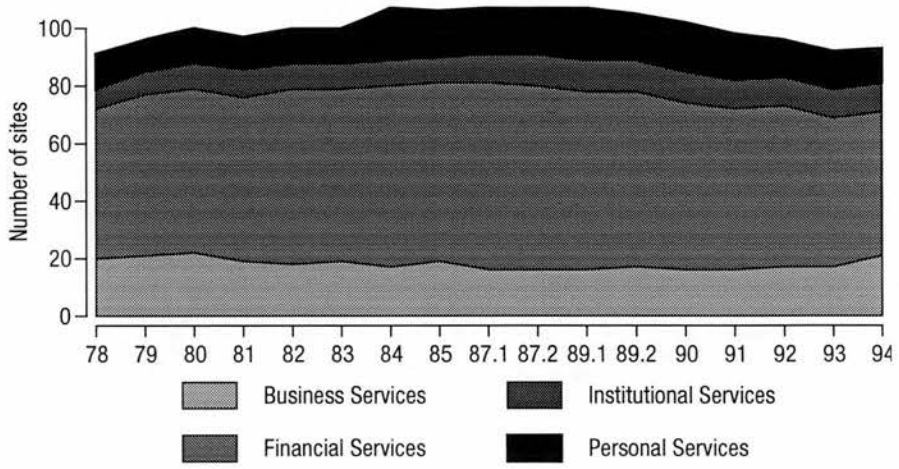


Figure 7.16: Service Use Classifications, Princes Street 1978-94

The degree to which financial services dominates is perhaps surprising, given Goad's attempts to exclude many of the institutional and financial sites that surround the Princes Street Region. The differences between the two Regions extends to the composition of these financial services: in the St. Giles Region 95% of these sites are both chains and multiples, while the pattern in the Princes Street Region is rather different.

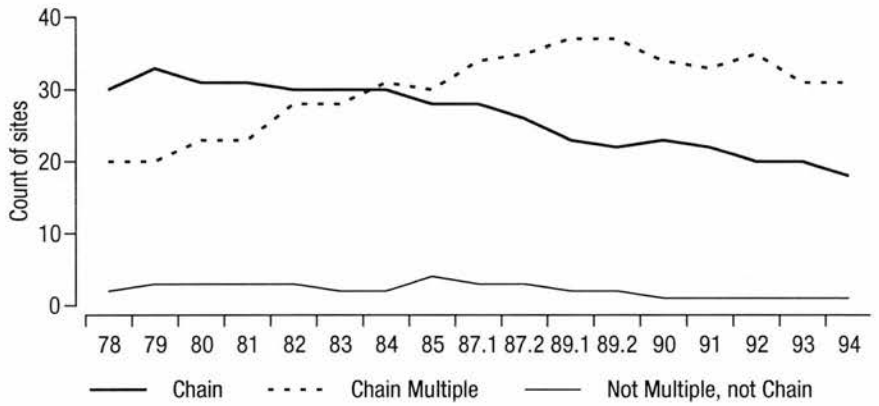
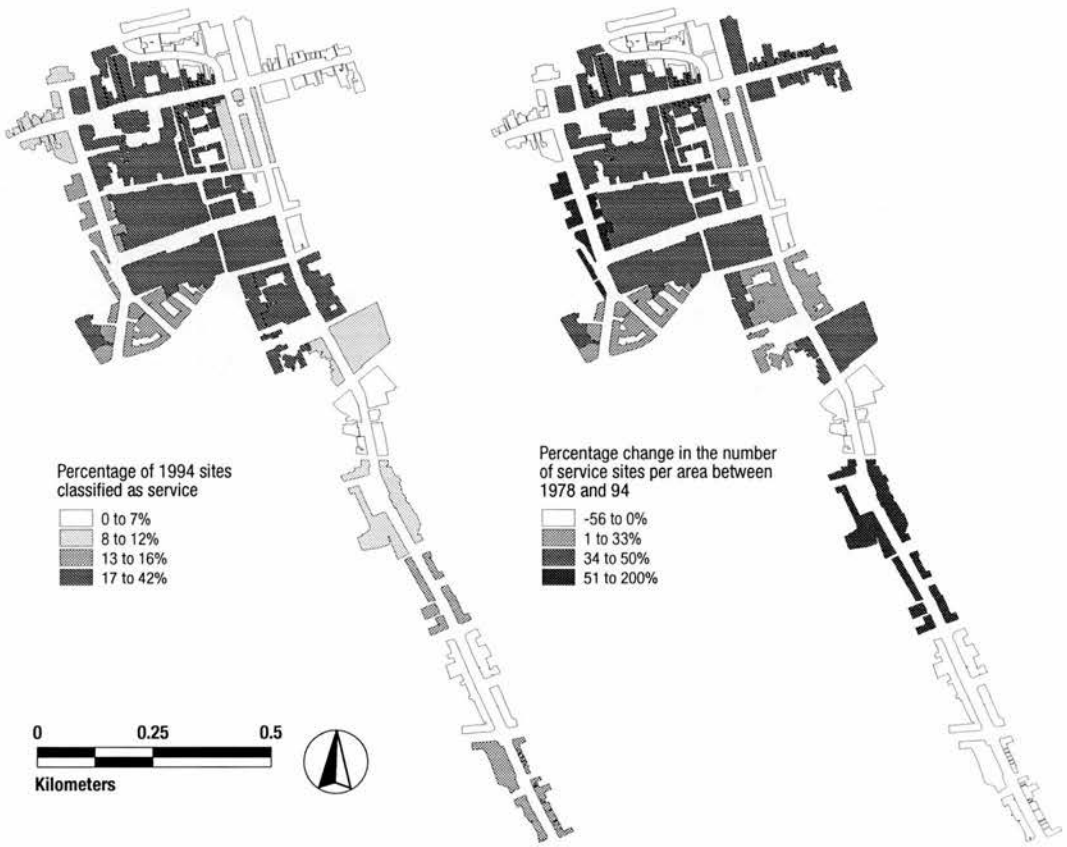


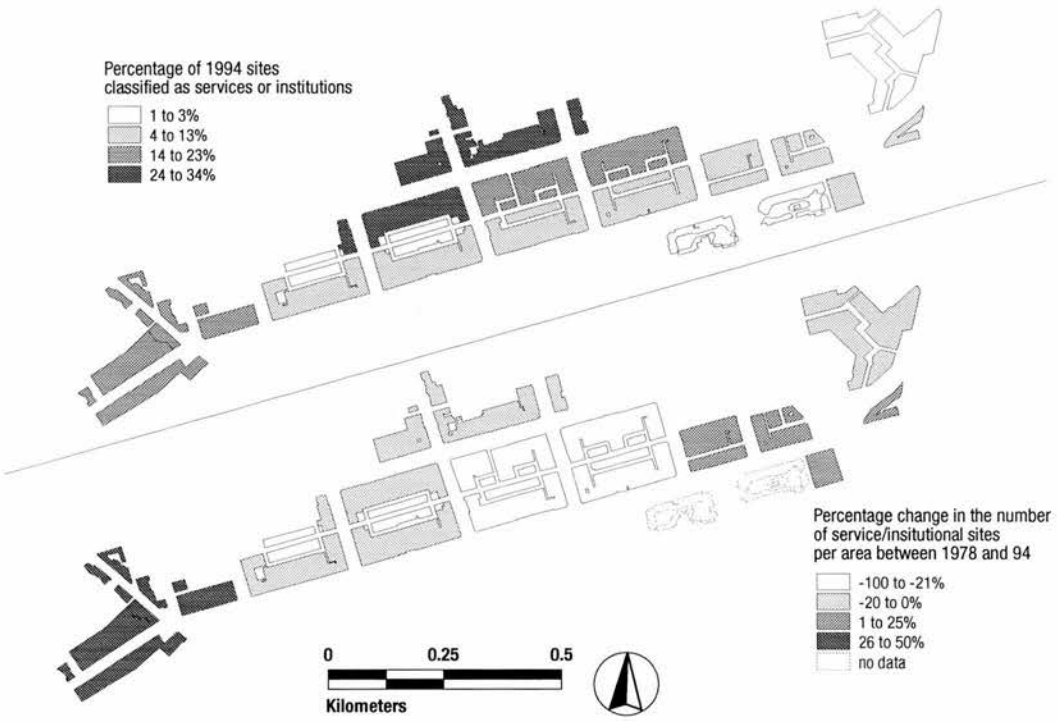
Figure 7.17: Capital profile of financial service sites, Princes Street 1978-94

In contrast to the St. Giles Region, the Princes Street data shows a clear transition within the financial service sector, with numbers of single-site chains declining markedly while the numbers of sites that are chains and multiples is increasing over most of the study period.



Map 7.8: The changing role of Services, 1978-94

Map 7.8 clearly indicates a clear concentration of service sites within the centre of the St. Giles Region. This is caused by the large numbers of institutional services within the Region (cf. Figure 7.12), combined with the combination of the majority of the Region's Institutional sites into Area 0 (cf. Map 7.7). The pattern of geographical change over the length of the study period is broadly similar to the distribution of service sites in 1994, indicating that the relative geographical concentration of services is increasing, although overall there are few Areas with high concentrations of services, and a number with few if any service sites, which is to be expected given the relatively low levels of services overall in the Region.



Map 7.9: The changing role of Services, 1978-94

Once again, the data for the Princes Street Region shows a different pattern of geographic change than does the St. Giles Region. While the overall distribution of service sites is somewhat more even than is the case in the St. Giles Region, there are also fewer Areas with high concentrations of service sites within this study Region (which arguably is the result of Goad's survey area selection). It is clear that there is also something of a movement of service sites away from the very centre of Princes Street itself, primarily towards the western ends of the Region. With the increasing numbers of retail sites in the central Princes Street Areas, it is clear that the service uses are slowly being squeezed out.

It must be recognised that with Goad's emphasis upon retailing, this data, while accurate in and of itself, gives a very biased picture of the role of services in street and how it is changing. This is perhaps most clear in Goad's choice of areas to exclude from its' surveys: the areas of the Princes Street Region that are explicitly ignored by Goad, including both the eastern and western ends of George Street and St. Patrick's Square, are dominated by significant numbers of corporate offices, especially for the banking and insurance industries. This is

somewhat less of a problem in the St. Giles Region, which is not close to any significant concentrations of office buildings (although it does skirt around the majority of University buildings in the area). Goad's practice of focusing on street-level uses also results in the exclusion of above (and below) street offices and services.

From this we can conclude not only that the Goad data is perhaps not the most targeted data-source to use to study the changing role of services, but that the results from the database are somewhat skewed by the definitions of Goad's survey areas and its' data collection methodology, and as such the results may not be particularly portable or otherwise applicable to other urban areas.

7.2.3: Services, Institutions and Site Persistence

Services and Institutional uses are not the most numerically dominant types of uses in either of the two study Regions, by a considerable degree. Their impact on the landscape, however is still considerable: while not the most common site uses, they are by some degree the most persistent, in terms of the length of time these sites remain in the landscape. They are highly permanent and it is argued that much of their impact is directly related to their persistence and role as stable constituents of the urban landscape.

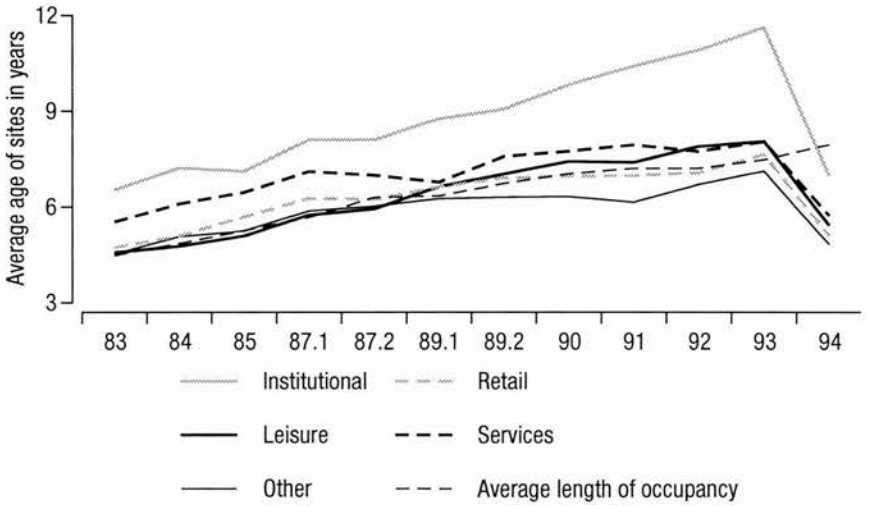


Figure 7.18: Average age of sites by BUC classification, St. Giles

It was indicated earlier that there were relatively low numbers of institutional sites in both study Regions (Figure 7.11). As Figure 7.18 and Figure 7.19

indicate these institutional sites are characterised by exceptionally high site stability: by 1994 the average age/length of occupancy of these sites in the St. Giles Region was 48% higher than the Region's average. It is clear that collectively these sites represent the most stable sites in the St. Giles Region, a pattern that is repeated in the Princes Street Region.

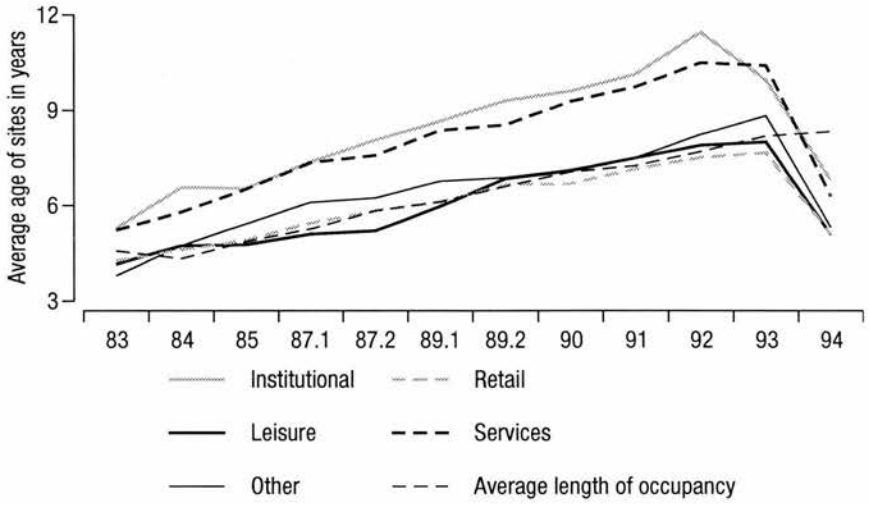


Figure 7.19: Average age of sites by BUC classification, Princes Street

Unlike the St. Giles Region, the Princes Street data shows extremely high levels of site stability for both institutional uses and for service uses. These patterns in the Princes Street Region become even more evident if we look at the percentage of broad use types who still exist five years after opening (aka the rate of persistence of sites).

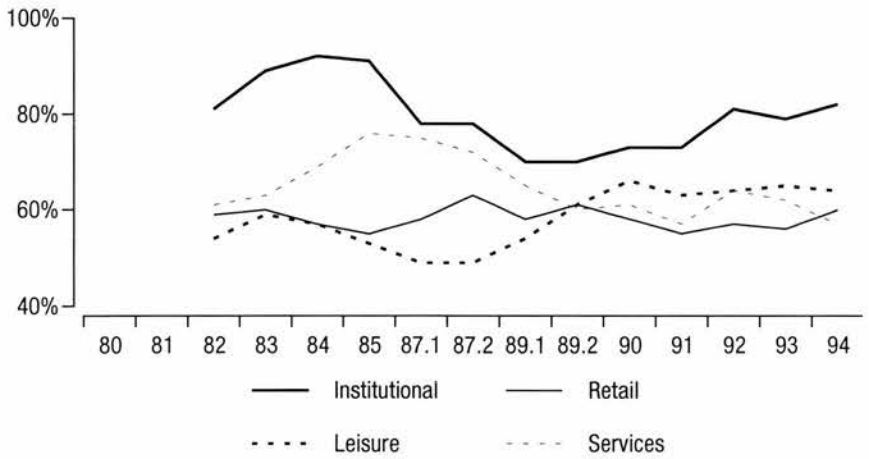


Figure 7.20: St. Giles — 5yr BUC Persistence

The St. Giles data shows that these institutional sites display markedly higher

levels of persistence than all other use types in the St. Giles Region, although at times these persistence levels are almost matched by service sites.

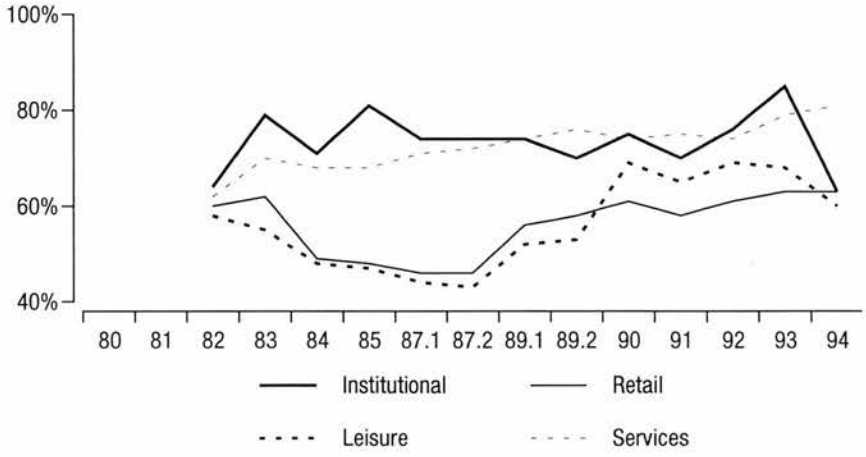


Figure 7.21: Princes Street — 5yr BUC Persistence

Rather different patterns appear in the Princes Street data, where there are significant variations between the persistence data for institutional and service uses and that for retail and service sites emphasises the difference between the use classifications. While the persistence rate is similar in 1982 and rates are comparable after 1990, the sharp divergence between the four use classifications emphasises the relative site stability of these use classifications. It can be argued that the perception of the increasing roles of these use types is related to the markedly higher levels of persistence of these sites.

7.3: Streets of Chains, Streets of Multiples

While many authors (Jones, 1991; Price, 1995) have focused on the mall as the site of choice for chains and multiples, this section of the study looks at the influence of chains and multiples on the streets of Edinburgh, and focuses on the nature of change on the ground and how it can be related to many of the more recent theoretical analyses.

Much of the retailing literature, and by extension much of the wider urban and mall literature, has regularly conflated the status of 'chains' with those of 'multiples', as in national terms the vast majority of chains occupy numerous commercial sites across the country: hence their characterisation as multiples, with a rather implicit inference that these multiples are not **local** businesses or

services.

This study has deliberately set out to use a radically different definition of chains and multiples from much the prevailing literature. All sites that are occupied by national chains (or corporations otherwise engaged in comprehensive branding as a means of defining their identity to consumers) have been classified as chains. Only when multiple geographical sites in the two study Regions are simultaneously occupied by the same occupant have the sites been classed as multiples: thus it has been possible to develop a better understanding of the repeated appearance of some chains within the modern city street.

As we shall see, using these two markedly different definitions of chains and multiples has generated considerably different sets of data, showing very different distributions of chains and multiples and different dynamics of change which highlight the considerable differences between the two study Regions, which both reinforces the decision to use multiple study Regions as a basis of comparison, and raises questions about the widespread applicability and universality of discourses of change that focus on homogenisation and the spread of facets of multinational capital.

All occupants in the study Regions were defined as chains/brands during the broader site classification and this data was not adjusted, i.e. the initial classifications were permanent and were not revised. In contrast, the decision to define multiples in this manner, by site and across the length of the study period, was a somewhat more problematic. Essentially, if multiples are defined as being two or more sites with a common occupant, there were three possible sets of sites upon which the definition can be based: the individual study Region itself, secondly across the two study Regions, and finally across the whole of the city. As data for the latter is not available, we are left with a choice between the former. The second definition was chosen with a view to using the numbers of multiples as an indicator of the homogeneity or sameness across the two study Regions. All site occupants were thus individually compared with all the other site occupants for that year, and from this comparison was generated the site's multiple identification. As a result, the classification of this data was contingent upon the wider occupant structure of the two study Regions, with every sites

annual multiple classification being dependent upon the nature of changes in the composition of the occupants of all the other sites in the two Regions*.

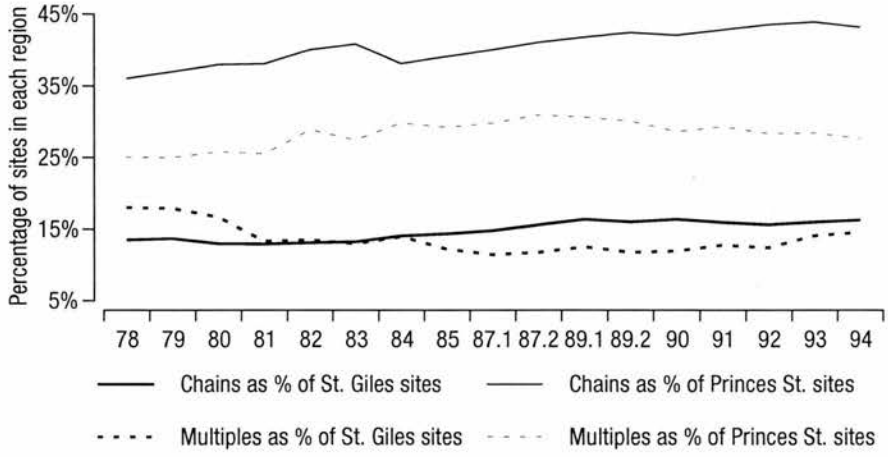


Figure 7.22: The distribution of Chains and Multiples in the St. Giles and Princes Street Regions

Figure 7.22 shows the overall proportions of chains and multiples in the two study Regions. It is clear that there are substantial differences between the distributions of chains and multiples between the two Regions: indeed, they are fundamentally different. This emphasises both the validity of choosing two different study Regions for comparison, and more importantly questions the accuracy and widespread applicability of totalising discourses centring around the homogenisation and domination of the city by corporate capital. That there are significant differences in the geographical penetration of these sites is clear and is emphasised by this Regional comparison.

The analyses of these chains begins by analysing their different patterns and rates of change, focusing on their relative roles within the two study Regions and their relative under-representation amongst new sites. The clear geographic patterns of concentration and change are then explored. This method is repeated for the multiples in these Regions, and includes a focus on the significant declines in the numbers of multiples in the St. Giles Region immediately after

* As sites were classified as multiples by comparison with all other sites in the two regions for each year, the multiples data set as it was generated cannot be adjusted to compensate for the large numbers of additional sites added to the Goad data in the Princes' Street region in 1984: this would require re-running the multiple analysis for the last 11 years of the data set.

the beginning of the study period.

The data for multiples and chains is then further subdivided to identify sites which are multiples, but who are also not chains (i.e. non-chain multiples). It is argued that these sites can be analysed as 'local' multiples, and their particular patterns of change provide insight into how the more 'local' parts of the economy are changing, in comparison to the wider patterns of change of chains and multiples. The data for sites which are both multiples and chains is then analysed in a similar fashion. This material is broken down by broad use category (retail, leisure and services) and analysed in the following section (Chapter 7.4).

7.3.1: Changing chains and the city

It is clear that in both Regions there has been a slow but fairly steady and continued rise in the overall proportion of chains over the length of the study period, with the overall percentage of sites occupied by chains rising from 14% to 16% in the St. Giles Region, and from 38% to 45% in the Princes Street Region*. From this data we can tell that the overall annual increases in the proportion of chains in the St. Giles Region is rather small (cf. Figure 7.22), with the annual increase averaging slightly more than a .1%. The rate of increase is markedly higher in the Princes Street Region, with an average annual growth of .4%, although the data shows a variation of up to 3% in the actual numbers of chains per year in the Princes Street Region, compared to 1% in the St. Giles Region. What is clear is that the dataset does not indicate a sudden significant rise or other substantial change in the role played by chain sites as part of the overall makeup of the urban street, as it instead shows a gradual but definite increase.

A comparison of the data from the two study Regions shows that there are significant differences in the relative proportion of chains across the two study Regions: in 1994 the percentage of chains of all sites in the Princes Street Region (45%) is approximately triple that of the St. Giles Region (16%), a ratio

* These are percentages of **all** sites in the two regions, not just retail or service sites: this includes ancillary buildings, entrances, vacant sites, warehouses and any other ground-floor site uses.

broadly similar to that which existed at the start of the study period in 1978 (38% vs. 14%).

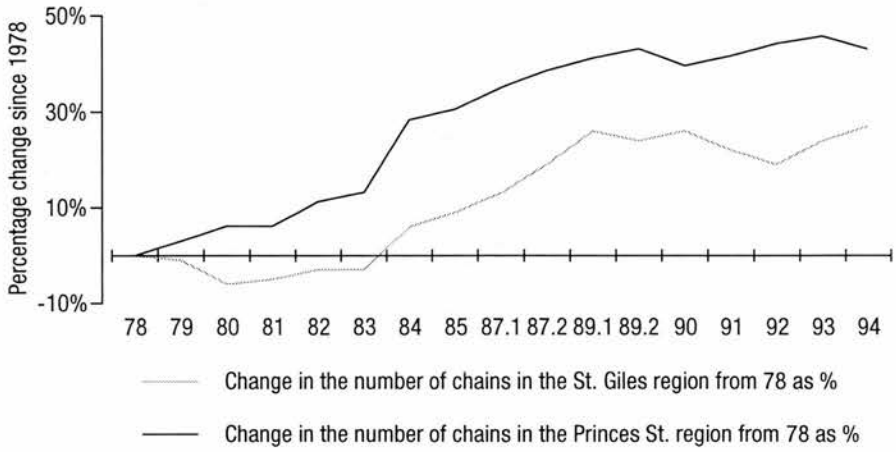


Figure 7.23: Change in the numbers of chains from 1978

An analysis of the overall percentages of chain sites can, however, obscure to some extent the real growth in the numbers of chain sites in the two Regions. While the overall numbers indicate a relatively modest overall growth in the numbers of chains, the cumulative effect (in terms of the numbers of actual chain sites) shows significant growth over time. As Figure 7.23 indicates, the actual numbers of chain sites, without compensation for any site subdivision or changes to the Goad datasets, have grown by 27% in the St. Giles Region, and by some 43% in the Princes Street Region over the duration of the study period, representing annual increases in the numbers of chains of 1.6% and 2.5%, respectively*.

* As Figure 7.28 clearly shows, the expansion of the Princes' Street Goad dataset in 1984 provides a sudden one-time spike in the data, which has the effect of somewhat exaggerating the rate of growth of chain sites in the region. If this is compensated for, the real figure for the growth in numbers of chains in this region is approximately 30%.

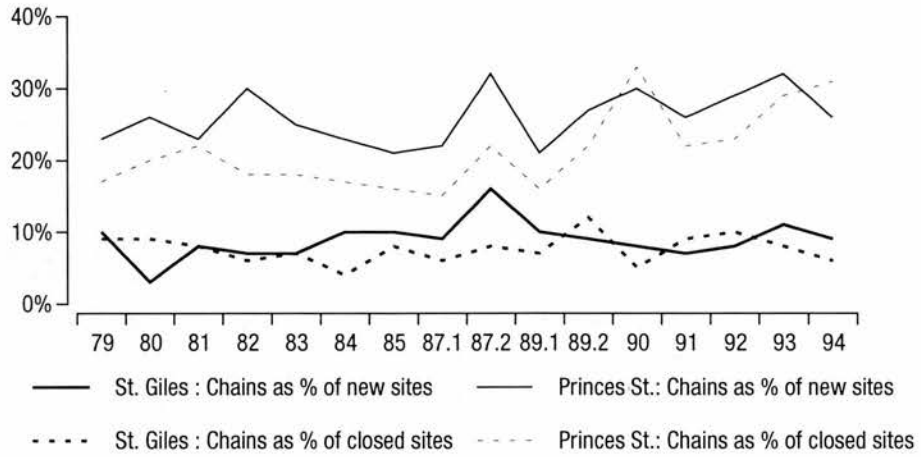


Figure 7.24: New Chains — St. Giles & Princes Street Regions, 1978-94

Figure 7.24 shows the percentage of chain sites amongst both new and closed* sites in the St. Giles and Princes Street Regions. What is noticeable, and this is true for both Regions, is that the percentage of new sites which are chains is lower than the overall percentage of sites who are chains in the Region for each year: markedly so for the Princes Street Region (cf. Figure 7.25).

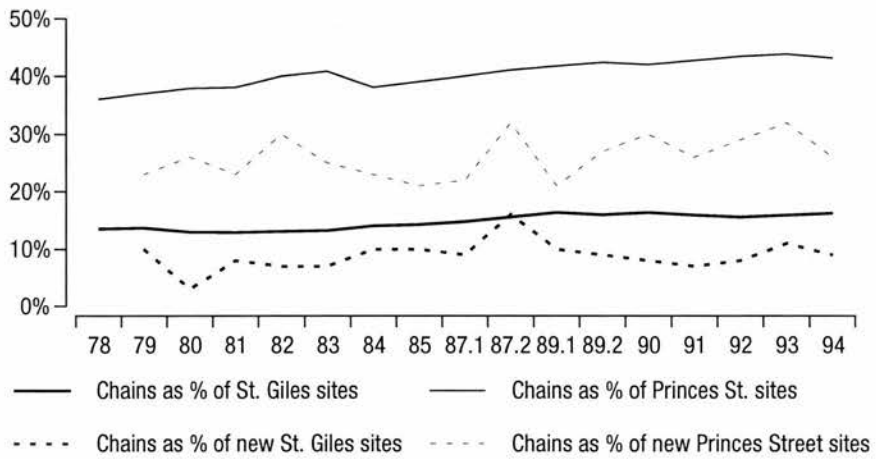


Figure 7.25: Comparison between new and existing percentages of chain sites, St. Giles and Princes Street Regions, 1978-94

This indicates that while there may be a **perception** that the numbers of chain stores are substantially increasing, in reality they are under-represented amongst new sites, considerably so in the Princes Street Region. This analysis reinforces the data that shows a slow overall transition towards chain sites, rather

* For lack of a better phrase: the sites which no longer appear in the following year's site data.

than a marked shift.

The St. Giles data also indicates that the percentage of chains in new sites is slowly growing over the length of the study period, with the numbers of chains growing most strongly in the mid/late 80s. Over the course of the study period, 75% of the time the percentage of chains in new St. Giles sites has been larger than that of the percentage of chains in the closed sites, on a year to year basis, while in the Princes Street Region this was true for all but two of the sixteen years in the survey. This data clearly indicates that the growth in numbers of chains in the St. Giles Region is very slow, while it is somewhat higher in the Princes Street Region.

What is also noticeable is that after 1989, the percentage of closed sites who are chains increases markedly in the Princes Street Region, and this pattern remains at sustained levels not previously seen in the dataset. This may be related to the increasingly high overall percentage of chain sites within the study Region, which ensures that increasingly large numbers of chain sites will be affected by occupant change.

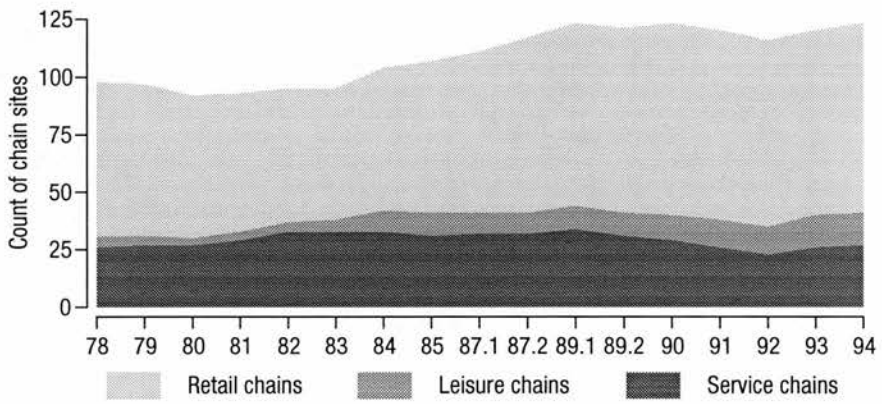


Figure 7.26: Broad Use Classification profile of St. Giles chain sites, 1978-94

Figure 7.26 shows the changing Broad Use Classification (BUC) profile of the all the chain sites in the St. Giles Region. It is clear that while there are consistent increases in the numbers of retail chains, especially after 1983, the numbers of retail chains clearly declined substantially before this. There is a clear increase in the numbers of leisure-related chains over the length of the study period, while the numbers of service-related chains fluctuates considerably

over the length of the study, and clearly begins to decline after 1982, and markedly so after 1989, almost in parallel with the increases in the numbers of retail and leisure chains.

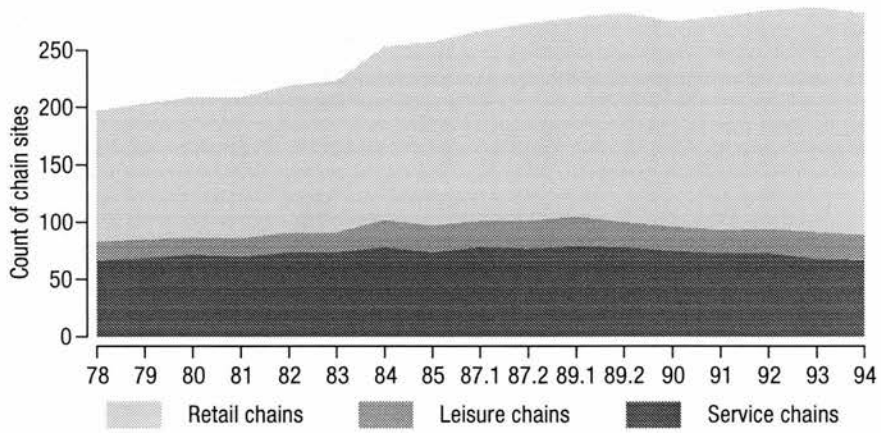
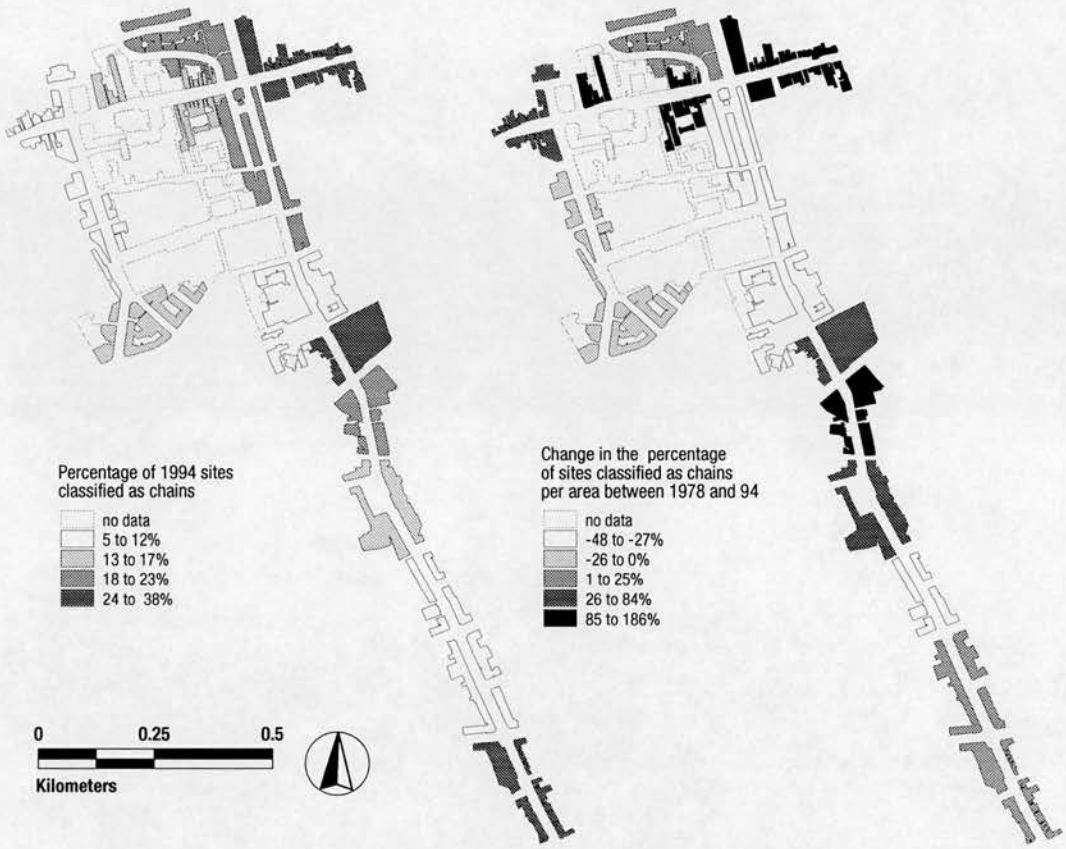


Figure 7.27: Broad Use Classification profile of Princes Street chain sites, 1978-94

The BUC profile of chain sites within the Princes Street Region shows great similarities in the relative distribution of the use classifications with the data from the St. Giles Region, although the numbers of chain sites in the Princes Street Region is approximately double that of the St. Giles Region, even though the St. Giles Region is markedly larger. The impact of the expansion of the Goad dataset in 1984 is clear, although this is mostly restricted to an increase in the numbers of retail chains. In contrast to the St. Giles Region, it is clear that the numbers of retail chains have consistently increased over the entirety of the study period. There is little evidence of any major increase in the number of leisure chain sites in the Region, and the numbers of service chains is also broadly stable over the length of the study period.

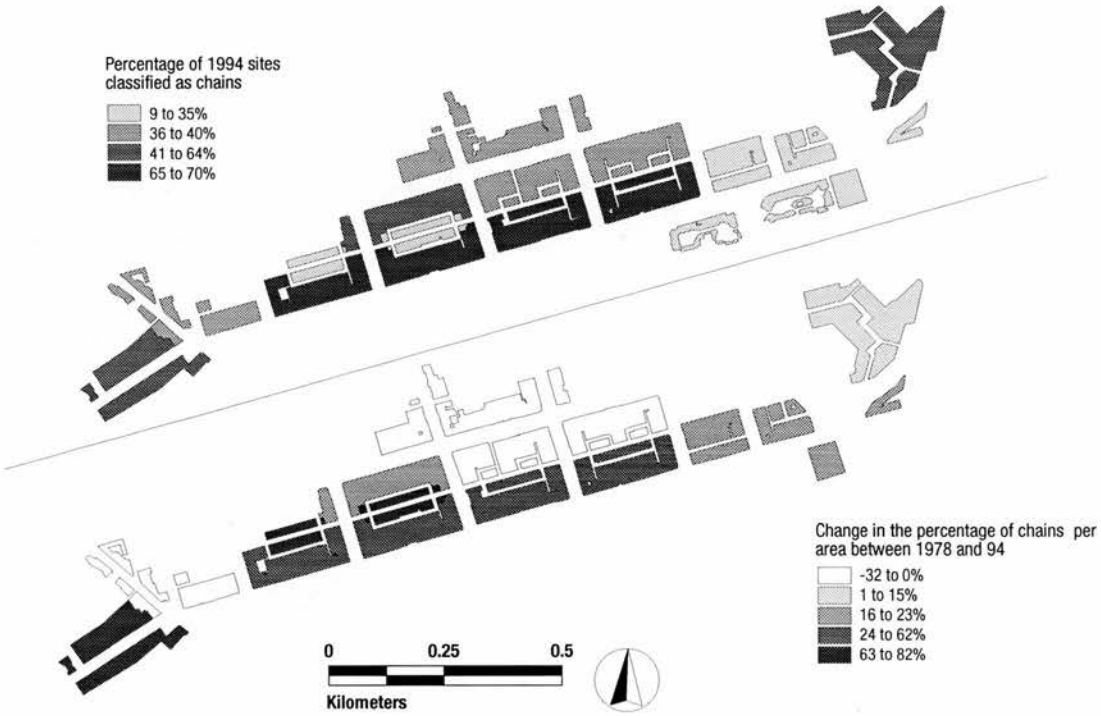


Map 7.10: Chains in the St. Giles Region, 1978-94

Map 7.10 shows the low concentrations of chains in the St. Giles Region. With the exception of Area 10, where 38% of the sites were chains in 1994, no other Area had more than 25% of its sites as chains. This is in contrast to the Princes Street Region (Map 7.11), which had only one Area with **less** than 25% of its sites classified as chains in 1994. While the overall percentage of chains in the St. Giles Region increased slightly, this masks significant shifts within the study Region, where Area changes ranged from an increase in the numbers of chain sites of 186% to a decrease of 48%. Nine of the sixteen Areas showed increases in the overall percentages of chains, with four Areas showing increases of more than 80%, and two of these increasing by more than 100%, while six Areas showed declines, with four of these showing declines of more than 25%*. There are no chain sites in Area 0. It should be emphasised that there are seven Areas with very low (less than 15%) percentages of chain sites in 1994, which

* Arguably the small initial counts of chains within the region act to emphasise the magnitude of these percentage changes.

emphasises that there are many Areas within the Region with very low percentages of chain sites.



Map 7.11: Chains in the Princes Street Region, 1978-94

In contrast to the data for the St. Giles Region, we can see from Map 7.11 that the Princes Street Region's data shows significant concentrations of chains sites throughout the Region. While in the St. Giles Region only one Area had more than 25% chains, in the Princes Street Region only one Area had less than 25% chains*, with the average growing from 38% of all sites to 45% by 1994, and the maximum concentration of chains as a percentage of an Area's sites growing from 59% to 70%. While three of the eleven Areas do not show increases in the percentage of chains, two of these are declines of less than two percent, while the third, Area 5, has been undoubtedly affected by the expansion of the Area in 1984†. As with the St. Giles Region, the growth in overall

* This was Area 7 (Rose Street), which has an exceptionally high number of ancillary buildings (29% of all the Area's sites in 1994) which dramatically lowers the percentage of retail/leisure sites in the area, and thus the overall percentage of chains, multiples etc..

† Between 1978 and 1983 the percentage of chains in this Area rose from 59% to 65%, but with the addition of extra sites in 1984 this suddenly drops, and for the remainder of the study period (1984-94) the number of chain sites remains essentially static, varying between 40 and 43%.

numbers of chains over the study period has not been uniform, ranging from a decline of 32% to growth of 82%, which disproves the universality of chain store growth in the two Regions.

In 1978 there were only two Areas in the Princes Street Region where more than 50% of all sites were chains, while by 1994 this had risen to 5, with two of these Areas having over 65% chain sites. Map 7.11 reveals the significant geographic concentration of these chains, especially around Princes Street itself. While these Areas had significant concentrations of chains in 1978, this pattern has become even more stark over the study period, with the numbers of chains in Areas 6, 8 and 9* increasing by 59%, compared to an 18% average increase in numbers of chains. (See also Figure 7.40: Concentration of Retail chains and multiples in Princes' Street, 1978-94)

7.3.2: Changing multiples in the city

Multiples have often been often treated as synonymous with chains. One of the objectives of this analysis was to study actual occupants who occupied multiple sites within the two study Regions, primarily in order to be able to use the numbers of 'multiples' as an indicator of levels of homogeneity within and between the two study Regions. The results generated from the Goad data indicate not only that there are significant differences between the sites that are chains and the sites that are multiples, but that this data is highly significant if we are to understand how the street is changing.

Figure 7.22 summarised the distribution of chains and multiples within the two study Regions. Perhaps most interesting is the fact that between 1978 and 1982 the percentage of all sites who were multiples in the St. Giles Region is actually higher than the percentage that were chains: this period is the only time this occurs in either study Region. We can see that the proportion of sites who were multiples in the St. Giles Region was initially somewhat similar to that in the Princes Street Region, (18% vs. 25%), before going into sharp decline in the early 80s. This is clearly shown in Figure 7.28.

* These areas contain the four central blocks of Princes' Street and Shandwick Place, which extends to the West of Princes' Street.

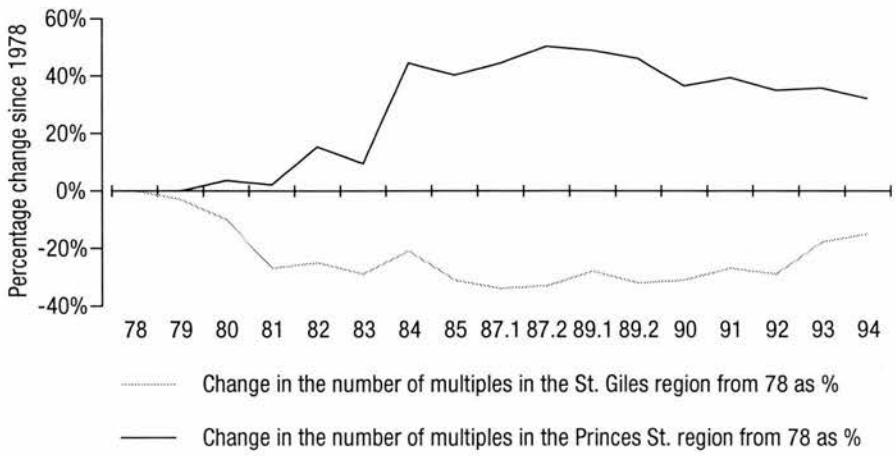
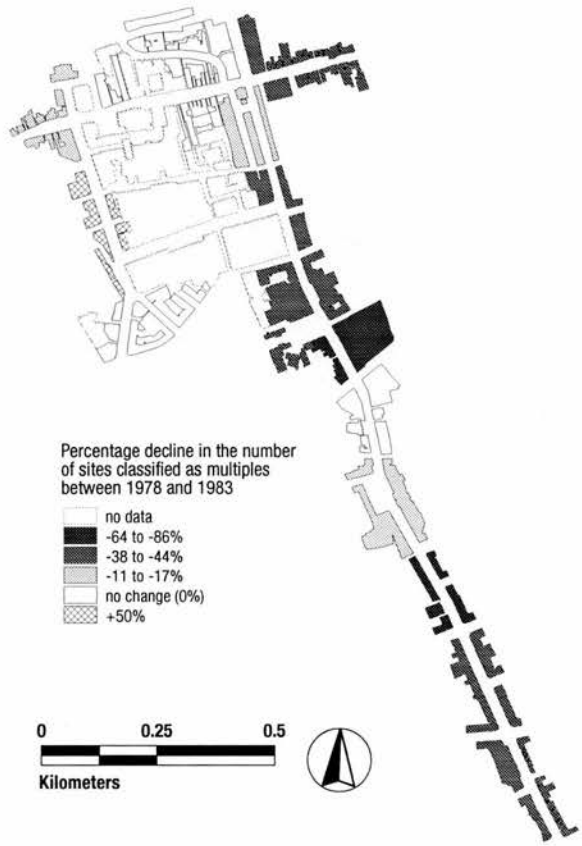


Figure 7.28: Change in the numbers of multiples from 1978

The expansion of the Goad dataset is obvious in the sudden peak in the number of Princes Street multiples from 1984: this 22% expansion of the number of sites in this Region has the effect of increasing the number of potential multiples in both Regions, as they are effectively combined during the classification of multiple sites. Despite this growth in the dataset, it is also clear from Figure 7.28 that the numbers of multiples in the Princes Street Region begins to decline from 1987, a transition that is not as evident in Figure 7.22. Between 1978 and 1994 the number of multiples in the Princes Street Region has increased by 32%, but from their peak in late 1987 the numbers of multiples has actually declined by some 10%.

While 1987 had the highest number of multiples in the Princes Street Region, in sharp contrast it also had the lowest count of multiples in the St. Giles Region during the whole of the study period*. By this time, the numbers of multiples had declined by 34% from their starting point (and 'peak') in 1978. From 1987 the numbers of multiples begins a slow recovery, and over the next seven years shows an increase of 29%, although this leaves the number of multiples in 1994 still some 15% below the 1978 levels.

* When the data was collected for multiples in the Princes' Street and St. Giles regions, no attempt was made to explicitly track migration of sites between the two study areas, so it is not possible to say whether this is merely coincidence or part of a clear inter-regional shift.



Map 7.12: Decline in the numbers of St. Giles multiples between 1978 and 1983

Map 7.12 shows the decline in multiples in the St. Giles Region in the early 80s. By 1983, not only had the number of multiples dropped by almost 30% since 1978, but for the first time the number of multiple sites in the Region was lower than the number of chain sites. There clearly was considerable geographic variation within this decline, with one Area showing a 50% growth in the numbers of multiples, while another showed a drop of over 80%*. Overall, there were six Areas where multiples declined by more than 40% over this period. The pattern of significant reductions in numbers of multiples along the South Bridge/Clerk Street/Newington Road axis is exceptionally clear.

We should not however characterise this as a wholesale withdrawal of multiples from the St. Giles Region: as Figure 7.29 shows, for much of the period of the study there are small but consistent numbers of new multiple sites

* Arguably these changing area numbers may be somewhat exaggerated, as the overall number of multiples per area in the St. Giles region in 1984 was 5.8, a decline from 8.2 in 1978.

each year, with the percentage of new sites occupied by multiples varying between 3% and 9% of all new sites, before increasing to 12% in 1994, a rate comparable to the initial rate of 13% from 1979. It is not until late 1987 that the numbers of new multiples begins to regularly exceed the number of 'closed' sites.

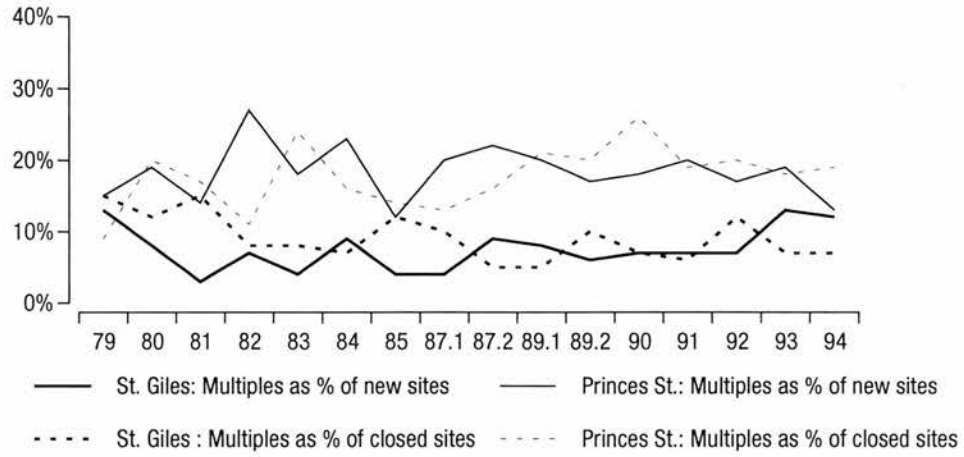


Figure 7.29: Changing Multiples — St. Giles & Princes Street Regions

The actual data for new and closed sites shows considerable variation from year to year in both study Regions. The data for multiple change in St. Giles shows a rather different pattern from that of the chains in both St. Giles and Princes Street Regions, with the overall numbers of sites being somewhat smaller, and patterns of change are rather more obscured by cyclical nature of the results from such a small dataset. Overall, in the St. Giles Region there were nine years where the number of new sites who were multiples was less than the number of multiples that had closed, with only six with a growth in multiples. This is consistent with the decline in multiples that was shown in Figure 7.22 and Figure 7.28.

While the data for the Princes Street Region shows much higher levels of new multiples and closing multiples than the St. Giles Region (as might be expected from the higher overall numbers of multiples in the Princes Street Region), there is once again a tremendous variability in the data*, where once again there are nine years where the number of multiples closing exceeds the numbers of

* This may infer that the two areas are not themselves large enough to provide a large enough sample of data to analyse in this fashion.

new multiples. The data also shows very high and sustained rates of closure of multiples in the Princes Street Region after 1989: this is similar to the higher rates of closure of chains in the same Region indicated in Figure 7.24, and is consistent with the declining numbers of multiples highlighted in Figure 7.28*.

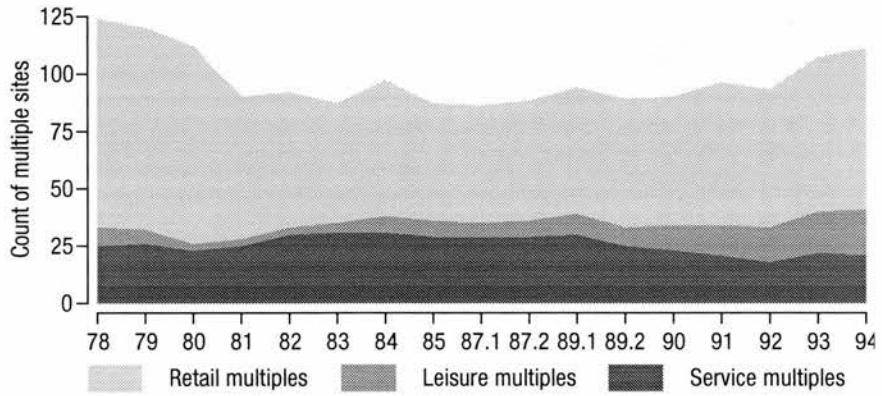


Figure 7.30: Broad Use Classification profile of St. Giles multiple sites, 1978-94

It is clear from Figure 7.30 that while the significant declines in the numbers of multiples in the St. Giles Region in the early 1980s is comprised of the decline first in the numbers of leisure multiples, followed by a considerable (28%) decline in the numbers of sites who are retail multiples. It is clear that the numbers of retail multiples show little significant growth over the remainder of the study period, while the numbers of leisure multiples slowly recovers during the late 80s before showing considerable growth during the 90s. The numbers of service multiples (predominantly Banks and Building Societies in the St. Giles Region) begins to decline in the mid 80s, a pattern which continues and accelerates in the 90s.

The decline in the numbers of retail and leisure multiples in the early 80s is complemented by the complete disappearance of all institutional multiples (not shown in Figure 7.30) during this time period. This was caused by changes in how these sites were identified by Goad: many sites which had been generically

* The data for the number of 'closed' multiple sites should, be regarded with more scepticism than the other datasets, due to the nature of how the data was generated. As a site's 'multiple' status may change every year, the status of sites may change regularly. The data for the numbers of 'new' sites represent sites that are not only new multiples but also new sites, . (This data does not include sites that are no longer multiples, but who otherwise continue to exist.)

identified as Council sites were instead identified only by their use, which has led to a regular misidentification (and hence under-reporting) of the role of local Councils as occupants of many sites*.

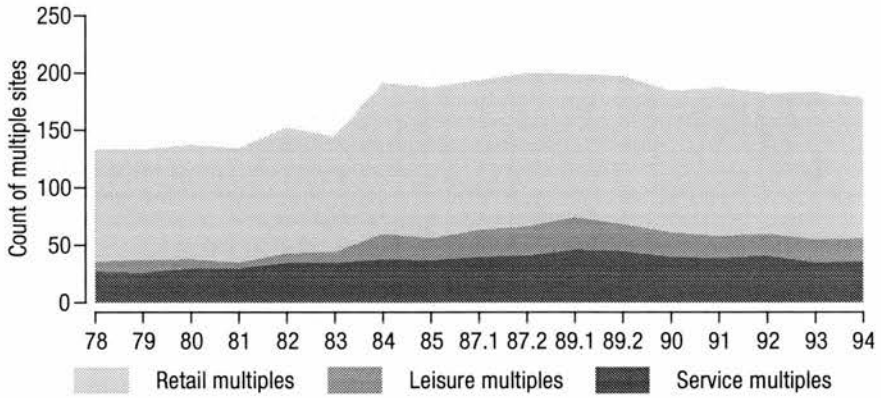
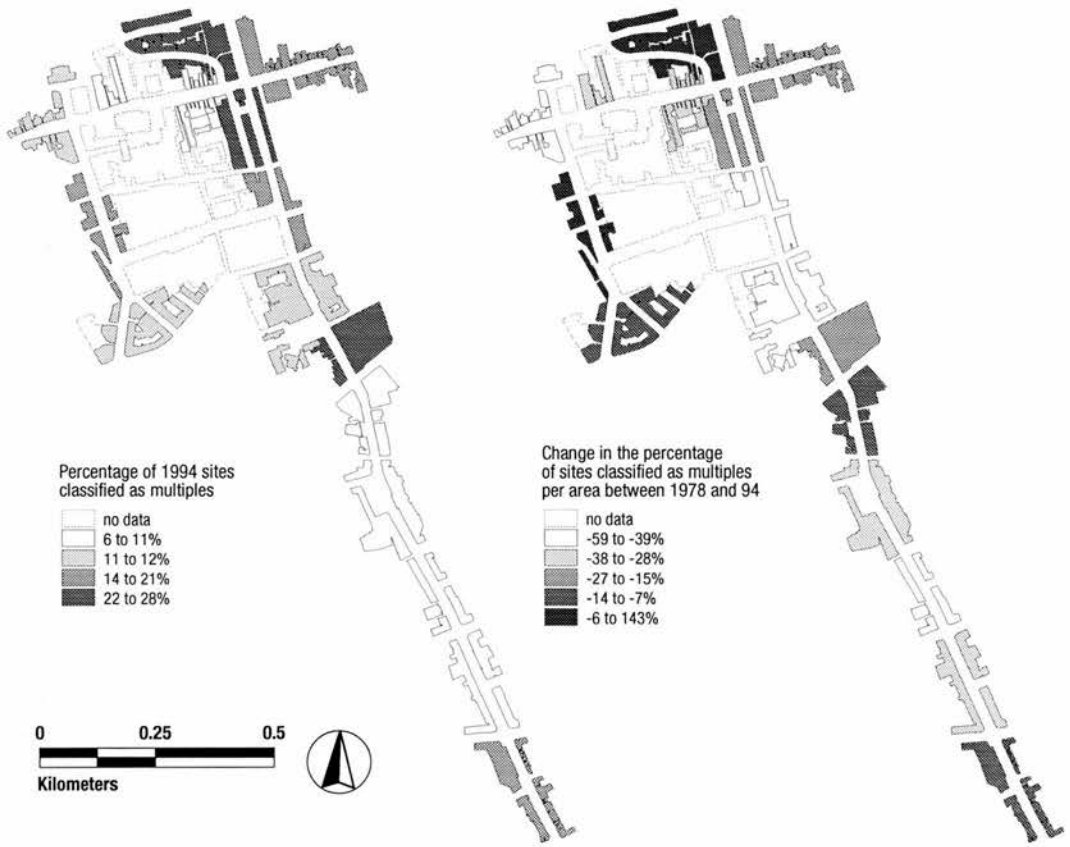


Figure 7.31: Broad Use Classification profile of Princes Street multiple sites, 1978-94

The BUC profile for multiples in the Princes Street Region is markedly different from that of St. Giles. All of the broad use types show increases over the length of the study period (there are no institutional multiples in this Region), although not markedly so in the case of service multiples. Once again, the numbers of multiples are higher than in the St. Giles Region, although not as markedly as the case with chain sites.

There is a substantial spike in the retail (and to a lesser degree leisure) multiple data coincident with the expansion of the study Region, although the increases in the numbers of leisure multiples is not solely due to this, but is also due to the increased number of sports stores in the Princes Street Region and especially along Princes Street itself.

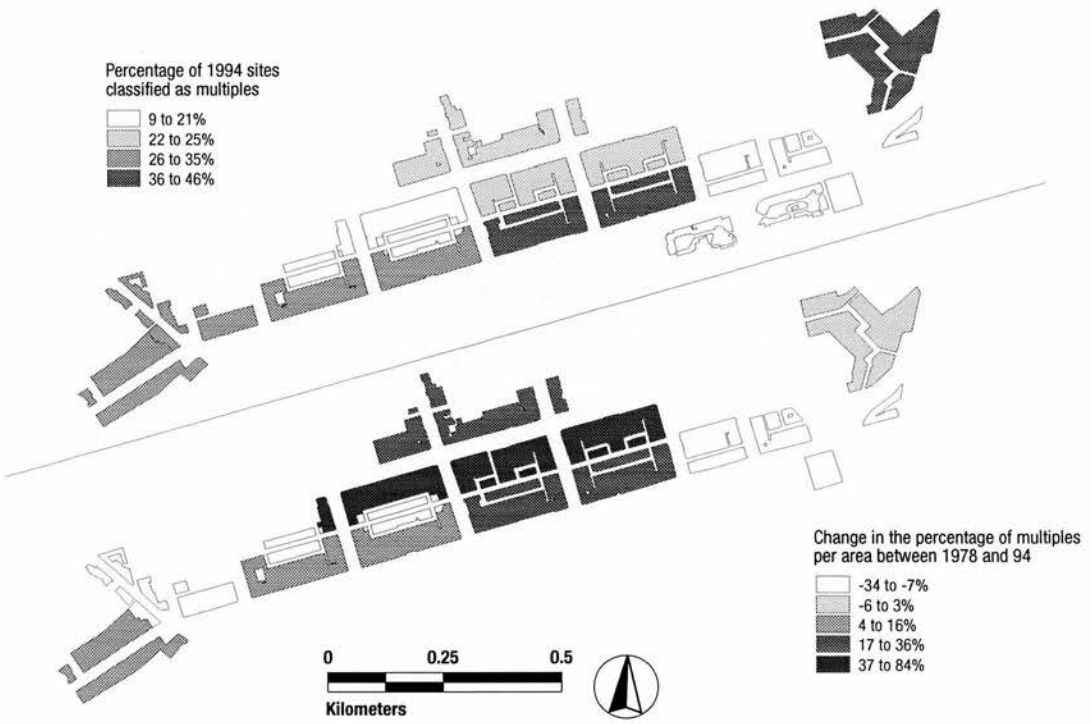
*Educational sites (i.e. University occupied sites) were not classified as multiples in the St. Giles region: this results in an under-representation of multiples by approximately 6-8%. This was caused by Goad's failure to accurately identify which University many sites actually belonged to.



Map 7.13: Multiples in the St. Giles Region, 1978-94

As with Map 7.10, while it is clear that there is significant geographical variations in the distributions of multiples across the whole of the St. Giles Region, there is little evidence of substantial concentrations of multiples within the St. Giles Region, as would be expected with the overall percentage of multiples declining from 19% to 15% of all sites between 1978 and 1994. While there are Areas where the concentration of multiples is almost double the average for the Region, the highest concentration of multiples in any Area in the St. Giles Region is still lower then the average concentration of multiples in the Princes Street Region*. There were only two Areas out of the sixteen in the St. Giles Region where the numbers of multiples actually increased over the length of the study, while the other thirteen Areas showed an average decline of some 28%.

* This is true for both the 1978 and 1994 data sets.



Map 7.14: Multiples in the Princes Street Region, 1978-94

Overall, Map 7.14 shows significantly higher geographical concentrations of multiples in the Princes Street Region than in the St. Giles Region (cf. Map 7.13): the highest density of multiples is some 64% higher than the highest multiple concentration in the St. Giles Region.

While there were four Areas in the Princes Street Region where more than 50% of sites were classified as chains in 1994 (cf. Map 7.11), there are no Areas with similarly high concentrations of multiples. As might be expected, the St. James Centre is one of the two Areas in the Region with relatively high concentrations of multiples. It is noticeable that while the highest concentration of multiples is along Princes Street itself, though the highest growth Areas are **not** along Princes' Street, but along George Street to the north. While this indicates that multiples are becoming less geographically concentrated within the bounds of the Region itself, it is also possible that this reflects the high penetration of chains into Princes Street itself, which may severely constrain locational choice within the Region.

7.3.3: Multiples without Chains (The Non-chain Multiple)

Conventionally, the literature has treated chains and multiples as synonymous. However, this study uses a rather different set of assumptions, classifying multiples as occupants occupying two or more sites within the two study Regions. The evidence from this study is that this alliteration between the two classifications is highly problematic, as the results discussed in the previous sections indicate that there are significant differences between the patterns of distribution and change of the two classifications.

That being said, it is also clear both that the two classifications exhibit considerable overlap (via what are described here as 'chain-multiples'), and that there are sites which are multiples but not simultaneously chains — the 'non-chain multiple'. Given that the classification system that was used attempted to explicitly identify sites that were occupied by chains and 'national' brands as 'chains', it is an obvious inference that the sites of these non-chain multiples are effectively 'local' multiples. These sites are important as they can be seen as representing both different fractions of capital, and as we shall see, as indicators of the health of the Region's economy.

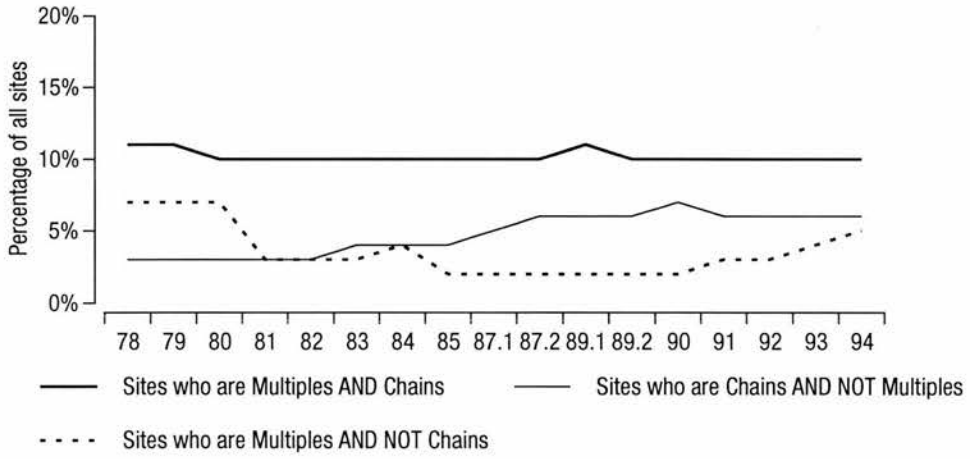


Figure 7.32: St. Giles — Changing chains, chain-multiples, and non-chain-multiples, 1978-94

Figure 7.32 represents the re-classification of the St. Giles data previously summarised in Figure 7.22, showing both the changing numbers of single-site chains (chains that are not multiples), chain-multiples (chains occupying multiple sites), and non-chain multiples (multiples who are not chains). While Figure 7.22

indicated a slow increase in the numbers of chains in the Region over the study period, with a marked decline in the numbers of multiples (cf. Figure 7.23, Figure 7.28), this data allows a radically different, and considerably more nuanced, interpretation of how the Region has changed since 1978.

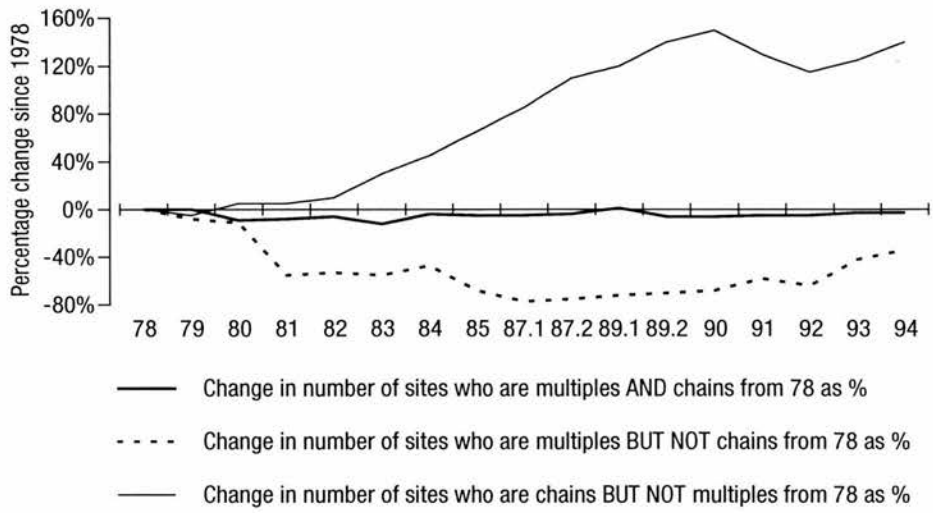


Figure 7.33: St. Giles — Changes in numbers of chains, chain-multiples, and non-chain-multiples from 1978

Figure 7.33 further clarifies the nature of the change by focusing on the changing numbers of chains etc. within the study Region. It is immediately clear that while the previous analysis showed a decline in the number of multiples in the Region, this data shows that there is a markedly different pattern of change between the chain-multiples and the non-chain multiples. The overall numbers of chain multiples remains almost unchanged throughout the length of the study period, and it is clear that the steep decline in numbers of multiples is focused almost exclusively on the non-chain multiples in the Region, who by the late 1980s have declined by 77% from their 1978 number, before recovering somewhat in the early 1990s to 'only' 34% below the 1978 levels. In marked contrast, there is a significant growth in the number of single-site chains within the Region during the course of the study period, with overall numbers rising by 140% by 1994. This is in stark contrast with the increase of 'only' 27% of the numbers of all chains in the Region.

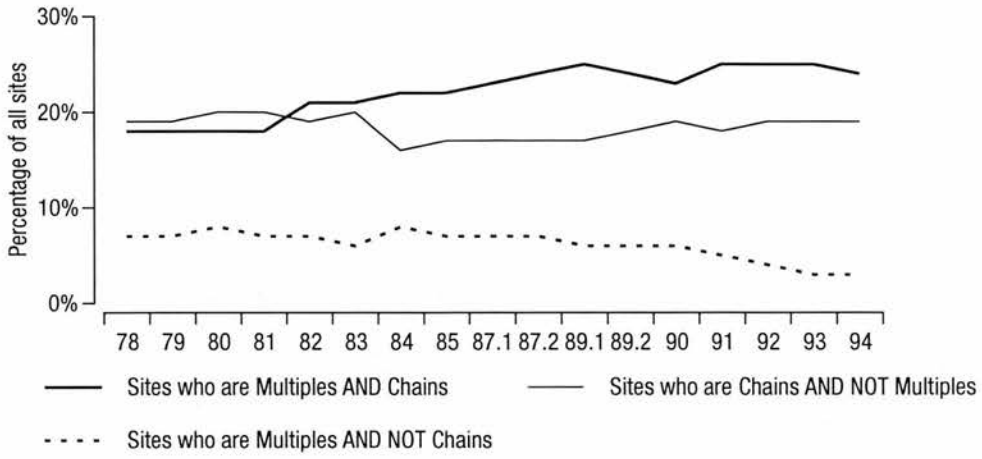


Figure 7.34: Princes Street — Changing chains, chain-multiples, and non-chain-multiples, 1978-94

Figure 7.34 shows this data for the Princes Street Region. It is clear that the profile of these sites and their patterns of change are significantly different from those in the St. Giles Region. Not only are the numbers of chains far higher than in the St. Giles Region, but the overall numbers of chains and chain-multiples are broadly similar within the Princes Street Region. What is noticeable is that in both study Regions there is a trend for the numbers of chain-multiples to be higher than the number of single-site chains. This can be explained by the impact of multiple branches of banks etc. within the study Regions and the dataset. As in the St. Giles Region, there is a noticeable decline in the numbers of non-chain multiples over the length of the study period, but in contrast to the data for chains and chain-multiples the overall percentages of non-chain multiples in the two Regions are broadly similar , representing 7% of all sites in both Regions in 1978, but declining to 5% of all St. Giles sites and 3% of Princes Street sites by 1994.

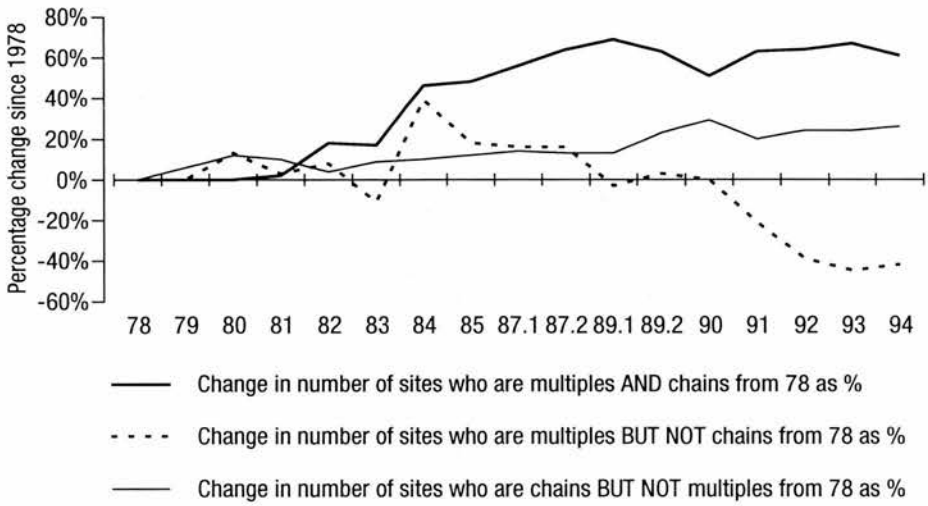


Figure 7.35: Princes Street — Changes in numbers of chains, chain-multiples, and non-chain-multiples from 1978

The significant spikes in the rates of change of these three classifications shown in Figure 7.34 and Figure 7.35 are due to the different types of analysis they show: Figure 7.34 essentially corrects for the significant growth in the numbers of sites in the Princes Street Region in 1984 by focusing on the three capital classifications/groupings as a percentage of all sites, while Figure 7.35 is based on the actual change in the size of each classification since 1978.

The data indicates that in the Princes Street Region, the relative numbers of chains show a slow increase, with rather more growth in the numbers of chain-multiples, although this is partially to be expected due to the enlargement of the study Region, in combination with the already comparatively high numbers of chains in the Region. This change is, broadly speaking, the reverse of that shown by the St. Giles data, which showed considerable growth in the numbers of single-site chains, and static levels of chain-multiples (cf. Figure 7.33).

However, there is a different pattern of change for non-chain multiples when compared to the data for chain sites, and to a lesser degree in comparison with the St. Giles data. While both the Princes Street and St. Giles Regions show significant drops in the numbers of non-chain multiples over the length of the study period, the two Regions show markedly different patterns of change of these non-chain multiples within this period. As Figure 7.33 shows, the number of these sites in the St. Giles Region declines by 55% within four years of the

start of the study period (1978 to 1981), and continues to decline for the next five years, before showing something of a recovery in the last two years of the study period (1993-4) to some 66% of the 1978 count of non-chain multiples. In contrast, while the numbers of non-chain multiples in the Princes Street Region did vary quite considerably from year to year over the first twelve years of the study, during this period there was little change in the percentage of non-chain multiples of all sites in the study Region. However, between 1990 and 1993, the number of non-chain multiples begins a sudden 45%decline.

When the differences in overall numbers of chain sites between the St. Giles and Princes Street Regions are taken into account, we can infer that this data indicates that what we are seeing in the St. Giles Region is actually the beginnings of the penetration of significant numbers of a wide range of different chains into the Region, as indicated by the sharp rise in chains occupying single-sites within the Region. In contrast, the increasing numbers of chain-multiples in the Princes Street Region not only reflects the much higher numbers of chains already in the Princes Street Region, but also indicates that inherent in the continued significant expansion of the numbers of chains is a considerable degree of consolidation of the roles of chains who are already located within the Region, with these existing chains opening large numbers of additional sites in the Princes Street study Region. This indicates that the two study Regions may be undergoing two different phases in the penetration of chains into the city street: the St. Giles data shows broad levels of initial chain development, while the Princes Street data shows a much later stage of the process with chain-multiples taking a larger and larger number of sites in the Region.

It is also clear that there has been a marked decline in the numbers of non-chain multiples in both Regions. While at the start of the survey non-chain multiples represented 7% of all sites in both Regions, this relatively small fraction of the local economy declined significantly over the next fifteen years in both Regions, to 5% in St. Giles and by more than half to 3% of all sites in the Princes Street Region. While it is not possible to say exactly why local multiples are declining so significantly, in the St. Giles Region this decline can be linked to the broader restructuring of retailing, with the closure of several department

stores just before the start of the study period and the expansion of suburban retail centres to the south of the study Region. It is expected that many of these local multiples in the Princes Street Region have been forced out by the combination of premium rates and high rents, together with increased competition for sites with more established 'branded' tenants. Their overall decline in both Regions provides a significant counterpoint to the rising numbers of chains.

This comparative difference in patterns of change clearly indicates just how crucial it was to enforce a clear methodological distinction between 'chains' and 'multiples'. The substantial differences in the patterns of change between non-chain multiples and chain-sites is significant, as it provides us with a means of developing particular insights into the evolution of the 'local' economy during this time frame, and offers a far more nuanced understanding of the context of the changing roles of chains in the street.

7.3.4: The combined impact of Multiples and Chains

A combination of the data for multiples and chains gives us a mechanism for understanding and measuring relative levels of 'homogeneity' within the study Regions: the data for multiples provides an index of homogeneity within the two Regions, while the chain data gives us an indicator of levels of homogeneity between the Regions and the broader landscapes of capitalism.

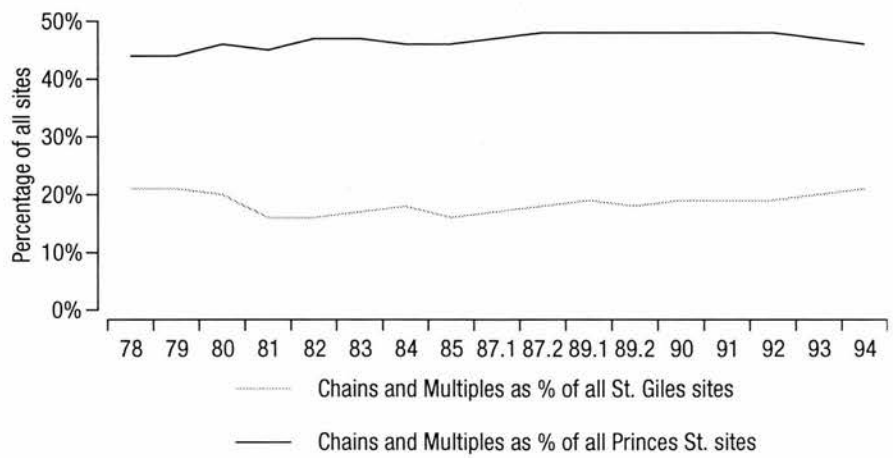
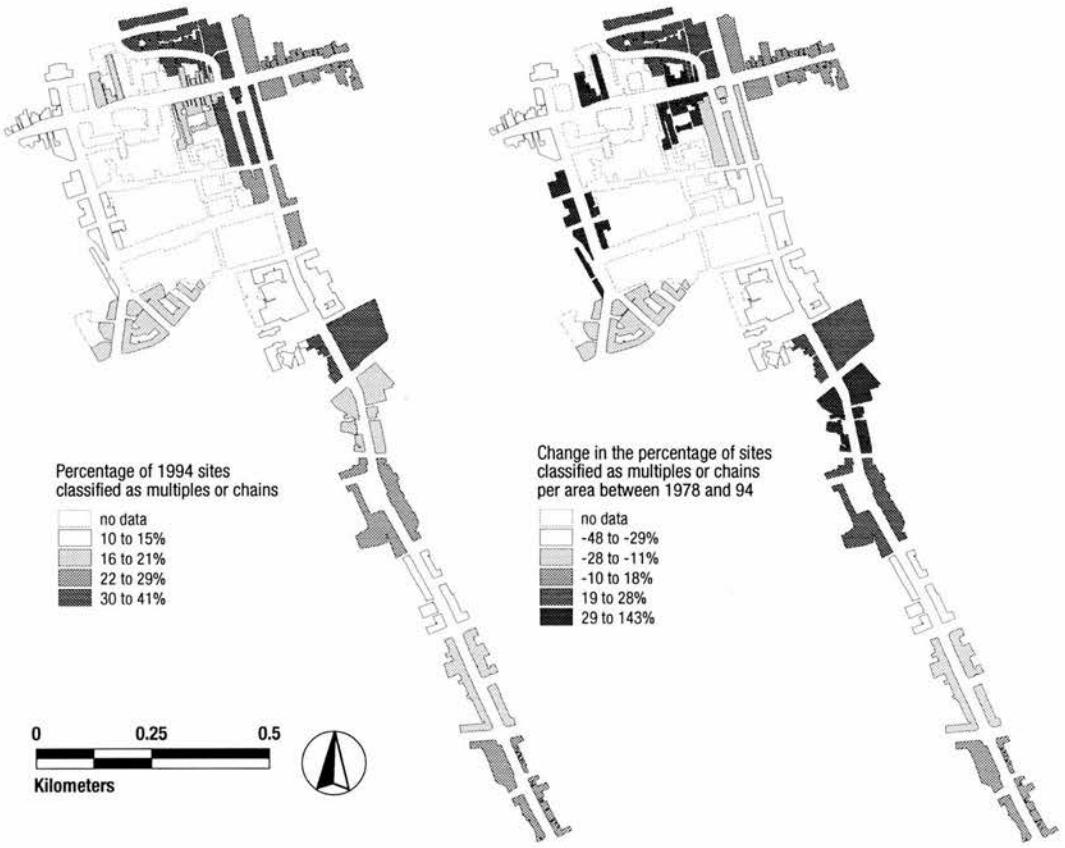


Figure 7.36: Summary of distribution of Chains and multiples, 1978-94

Figure 7.36 shows the combined data for the two Regions. While there is no

overall increase in the total proportion of sites who are either chains or multiples in the St. Giles Region during the study period, this does ignore the decline in the numbers of multiples in the Region which caused the combined percentage of multiples and chains to drop to 16% of all sites in 1987, before recovering to 21% in 1994.

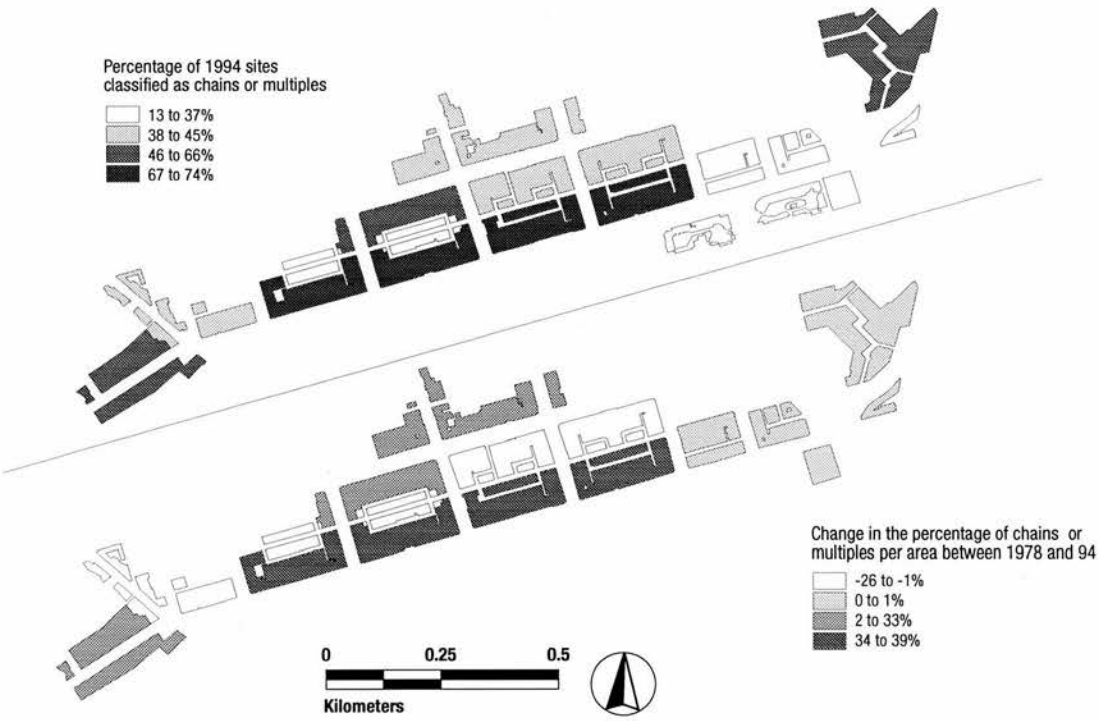
The data for the Princes Street Region also shows little change in the percentage of chains and multiples, there being a slight overall increase from 45% to 48% of all sites. The apparent contradiction between rising numbers of chains and multiples and their relatively stable overall proportions is due mostly to the increased numbers of sites within the two study Regions, primarily through sub-division and site redevelopment.



Map 7.15: St. Giles — Chains or Multiples

Within the St. Giles Region the proportion of chains and multiples together has not increased, and the peak value has remained unchanged at 41% of all sites. It is difficult to identify any real pattern of change within the Region: seven Areas show increased proportions of chains and multiples, while nine show

decreases, four of over 30%. Of the nine Areas with more than 20% chains or multiples in 1978, six showed declines by 1994. Overall, Map 7.15 indicates that increases are somewhat concentrated around the intersection of the Royal Mile and The Bridges, which has been a focus of much redevelopment and reconstruction during the study period. The other noticeable concentration is centred around Clerk Street, which has been the centre of long-term block-level redevelopment and site-level re/construction.



Map 7.16: Princes Street — Chains or Multiples

The data for the Princes Street Region (Map 7.16) shows a pattern of very high and increasing levels of concentration of chains and multiples. While the overall average proportion of chains and multiples has remained relatively static, the maximum values increased by some 14%, from 65% of all sites in 1978 to 74% in 1994. Four Regions in 1994 had chain or multiple concentrations of 50% of all sites or higher, with two of over 70%. This shows a considerable increase in concentration of these sites since 1978, where there were also four Areas of over 50% but only one over 60%, compared to the three in 1994.

Overall, the peak percentage increases in the Princes Street are broadly similar to that of the St. Giles Region, although there are far fewer Areas where

the overall proportions of chains or multiples declines, with only three Areas in the Princes Street Region showing a decrease in the proportion of chains or multiples (compared to eight in the St. Giles Region), and two of these show a decrease of less than two percent*. There are no examples of the levels of decline that are visible in some Areas of the St. Giles dataset, where four Areas showed declines of more than 30%. In 1978 the St. James Centre (Area 1), had the highest proportion of chains/multiples in all of the Princes Street Region (which was also the highest proportion of chains or multiples in both Regions), at 65%: seventeen years later this was virtually unchanged at 66%. Over this time, the St. James Centre's position at the top of this hierarchy was substantially eroded, with the rapid growth in the numbers of chains and multiples along the length of Princes' Street: in Areas 8 and 9, which front Princes' Street, the percentage of sites that were occupied by chains or multiples rose from 54 and 53% respectively, to 72 and 74% by 1994, overall increases of 33 and 40% from the already high 1978 levels (cf. Figure 7.40: Concentration of Retail chains and multiples in Princes' Street, 1978-94). While we might expect the Waverly Centre (Area 4) to parallel the St. James Centre and show large numbers of chains and multiples as tenants, the reality is rather different, as the proportion of chains and multiples has slowly risen from 13% of all sites, when the shopping centre opened in 1984, to only 34% a decade later†.

Overall, there appears to be a significant relationship between the levels of chains and multiples in the Princes Street Areas in 1978 and the subsequent patterns of change in the numbers of chains or multiples in these Areas over the next sixteen years. Given the overall stability of the numbers of chains and multiples, and the significant increases in concentration identified in the Areas with the highest existing concentrations of chains and multiples, it is clear that this must be balanced by the reduction in numbers of these sites in the more 'peripheral' Areas within the Princes Street Region.

* The only significant decline (in Area 5) was caused by the expansion of the Goad dataset.

† To some degree this is not unexpected, given the large food court in the shopping centre, which has affected the percentages of chains and multiples.

7.4: Chains and multiples in retailing, leisure and services.

While the previous sections have looked at the aggregate data for changing chains and multiples in the two study Regions, it was felt that analysing the same data by sector might provide a more detailed and insightful analysis of the changing street. To this end, the data was analysed to focus on the three broadest usage classifications: retailing, leisure, and services. These analyses are similar in style and format to those in the preceding section.

7.4.1: Retailing, Chains and Multiples

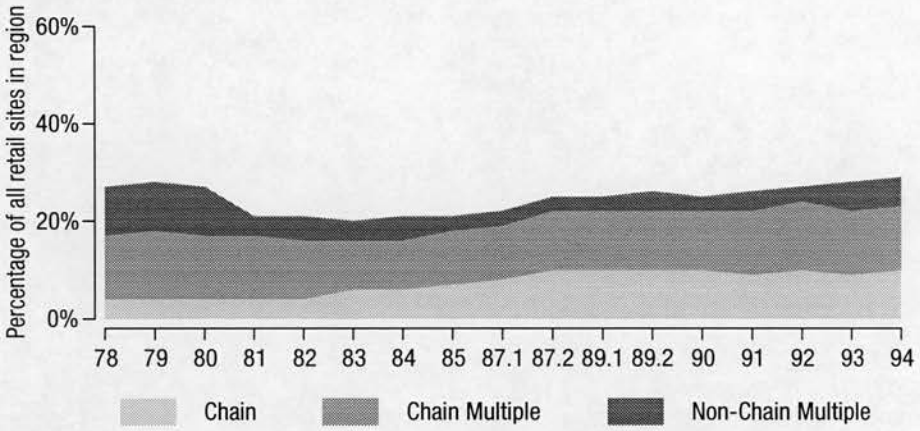


Figure 7.37: Retail sites by capital classification, St. Giles

The data for the retail sites in the St. Giles Region shows several clear patterns of change over the study period that reflect previous more macro analyses. The average percentage of retail chains in the Region is somewhat higher than the average percentage of chains of all sites (as might be expected), and has increased from 18% of all sites to 23%, compared to an increase in the number of chains from 14% to 16% of all sites. There is a clear increase in the percentage of non-multiple chains, especially from the early 80s, while the percentage of chain-multiples remains fairly constant. As indicated in the pervious analyses of non-chain multiples, the data shows a significant decline in the numbers of non-chain retail multiples between 1980 and 81, with very little subsequent increase in the number of multiples until the very end of the study period. Overall, the number of chain sites has grown by 35%, while the numbers of multiples has dropped by some 13%.

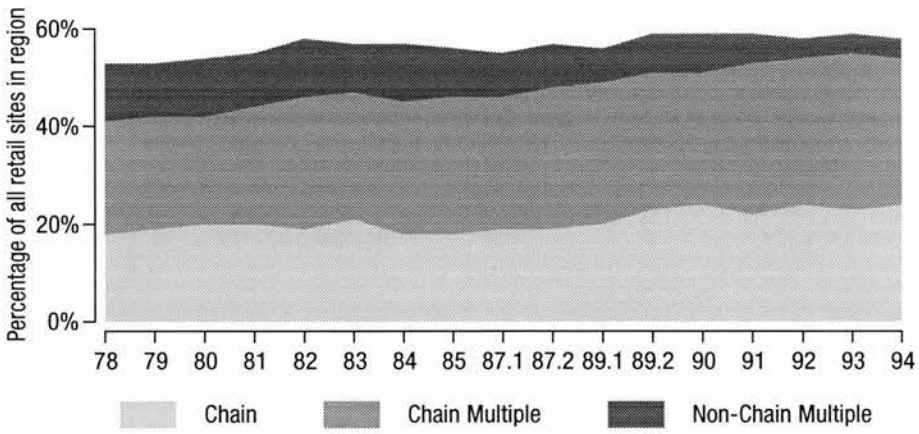


Figure 7.38: Retail sites by capital classification, Princes' Street

The breakdown of retail sites in the Princes Street Region shows a completely different capital profile of retail sites from that of the St. Giles Region. Most immediately obvious is the substantial disparity between the penetration of chains and multiples in the two Regions, a difference which has remained over the length of the study period. The Princes Street retail sites are more than twice as likely as the St. Giles retail sites to be chains/branded stores, and are 50% more likely to be multiples. The growth of all chain or chain-multiple sites is only 13%, representing a shift of some 7% of all sites.

While both Regions show increases in the numbers of retail chain stores, they show markedly different trends with respect to retail multiples. While the number of multiples in the St. Giles study Region collapsed in the early 1980s, dropping by over 25% between 1978 and 1981and remaining at these low levels for the next 11 years before beginning to recover in 1992 (see Figure 7.21 and Figure 7.33), the relative proportion of multiples in the Princes Street Region has remain broadly constant, although there is a marked increase (30%)in the number of chain-multiples and a significant decline in the numbers of non-chain multiples (see Figure 7.35).

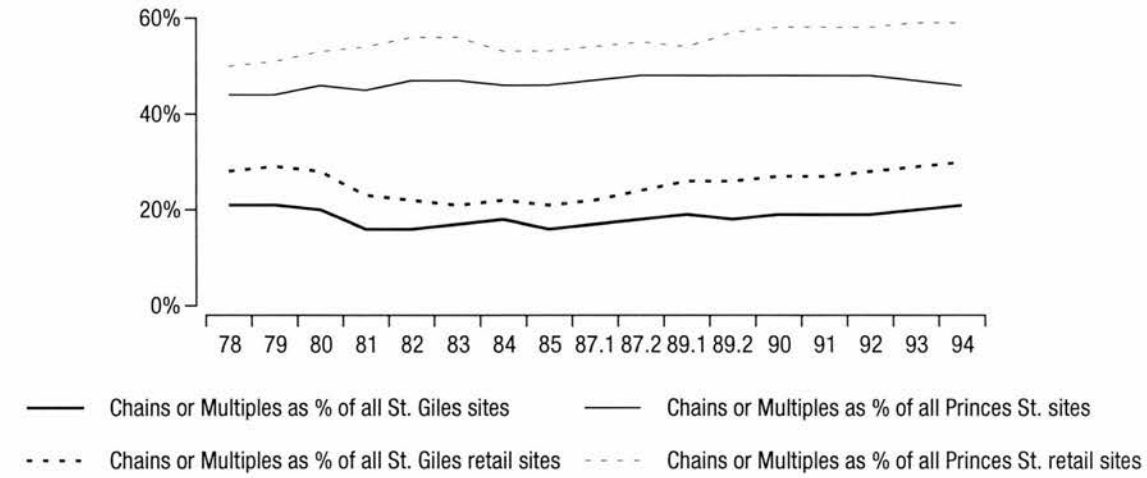
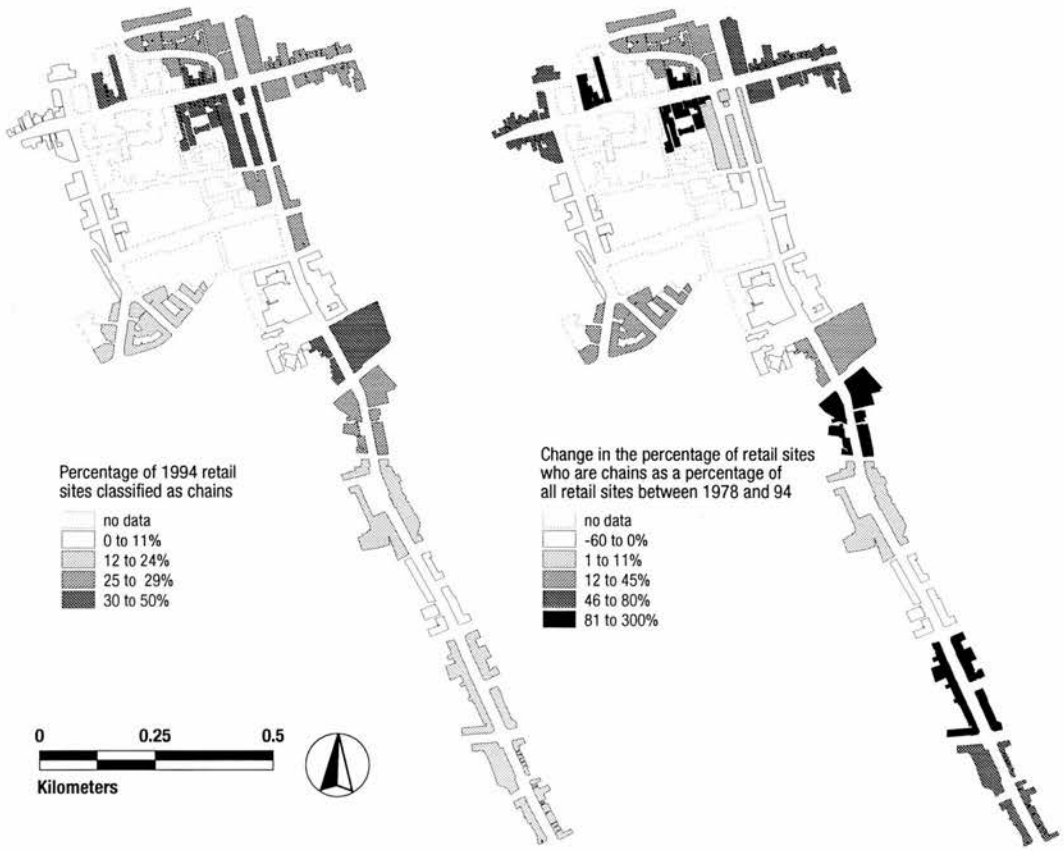


Figure 7.39: Comparison of retail and overall chain/multiple penetration, 1978-94

Figure 7.39 shows the results of a direct comparison between the percentages of retail sites who are chains and multiples and the overall percentages of chains and multiples in two study Regions. We can see that they tend to change in broadly similar fashion, indicating the dominance of retail sites amongst the overall numbers of chains and multiples.

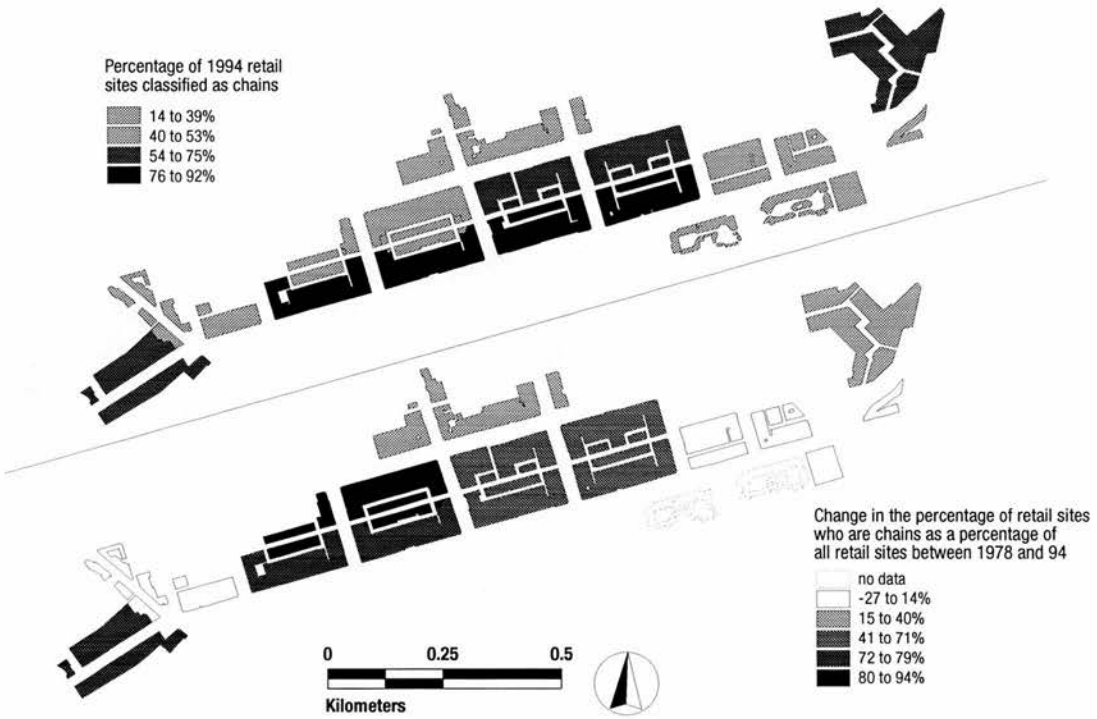


Map 7.17: St. Giles — Retail chains, 1978-94

The highest concentrations of retail chains within the St. Giles Areas are somewhat higher than those of non-retail chains, with Map 7.17 showing that there are two fairly significant concentrations of retail chains in the St. Giles Area (45% in Area 3 and 50% in Area 10) in 1994. None of the remaining fourteen Areas however have more than one third of their retail sites classified as chains: six out of the sixteen Areas have less than 20% retail chains. This is in contrast with the 1978 dataset, where there were 11 Areas with less than 20% retail chains, and one Area with no retail chains at all.

A comparison between Map 7.17 and Map 7.10 (Chains in the St. Giles Region, 1978-94) shows that the while the pattern of geographic distribution of retail chains in St. Giles in 1994 is broadly similar to that overall distribution of chain sites, the percentage of Area retail sites who are chains is often slightly higher than the distribution of chains as a percentage of all sites within Areas in the Region. There are far fewer Areas showing significant decreases in the numbers of retail chains, when compared to the overall chain data, with only three sites showing declines in the numbers of retail chains, compared to six showing declines in overall numbers of chains. Seven Areas have chains as more than 25% of all their retail sites, compared to only three with more than 25% of all sites classified as chains.

The overall geographic patterns of change are broadly comparable for retail chains and all chains, although the percentage growth of chain sites is somewhat higher, which may be the result of very low numbers of chains in particular Areas in 1978. It is clear however that there are four Areas which seem to be avoided by chain sites, with a combination of low numbers of chains and little if any growth in numbers over the length of the study period. In the Lawnmarket this can be explained by the significant numbers of leisure sites competing for sites in the primary tourist/historical Area.



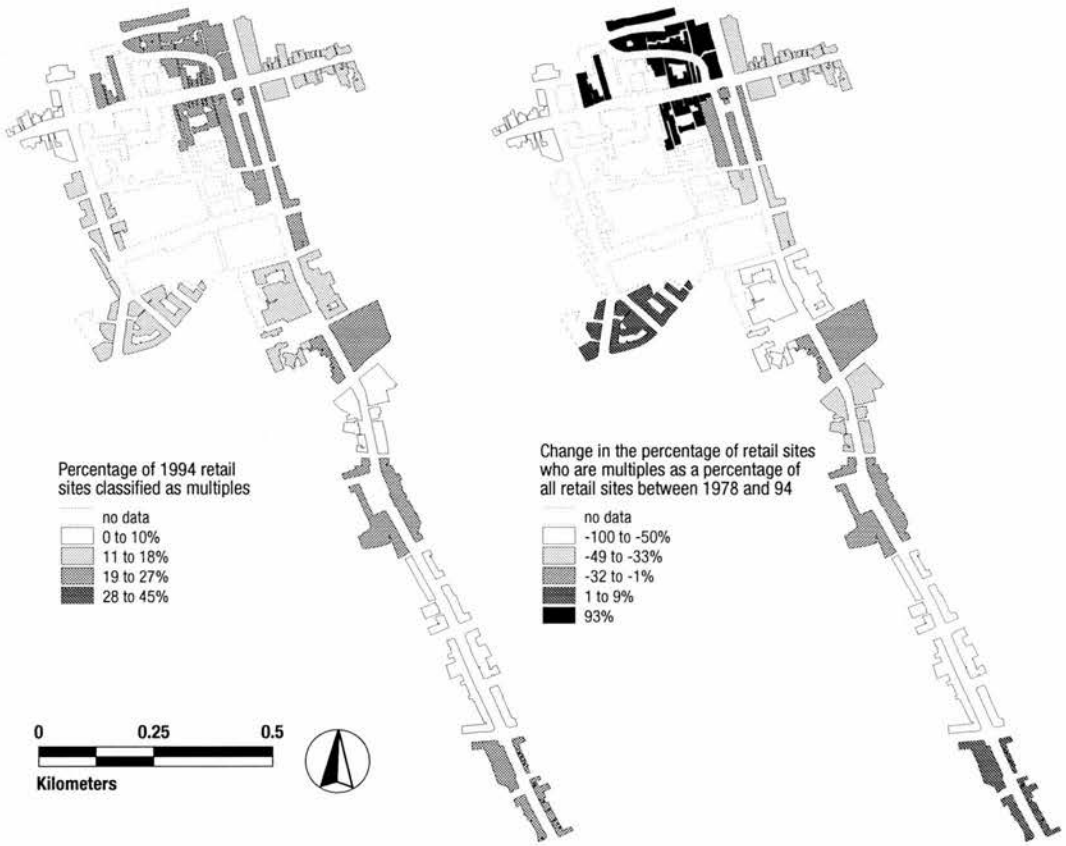
Map 7.18: Princes Street — Retail chains, 1978-94

In marked contrast to the retail data for the St. Giles Region, the data in Map 7.18 shows very high and increasing concentrations of retail chains in the Princes Street Region. While the 1978 data showed significant amounts of clustering of retail chains, with four Areas with more than 50% of their retail sites classified as chains, by 1994 this had increased to seven out of the eleven Areas in the Region. Significant concentrations of retail chains are visible along the length of Princes' Street, where Areas 8 and 9 both have more than 90% of all of their retail sites classified as chains. It is clear that we are seeing considerable and sustained increases in the concentration of these retail chains, given the size of the increases indicated by the dataset. Five Areas (out of ten)* show increases in the numbers of retail chains of over 70% during this period. Overall, the average percentage of retail chains in the Areas of the Region grew from 41% to 55% in 1994.

In comparison with Map 7.11 (Chains in the Princes Street Region, 1978-94),

* Area 4 is excluded from this comparison as it was not present during the whole of the survey period, which is why ten areas are quoted, not eleven.

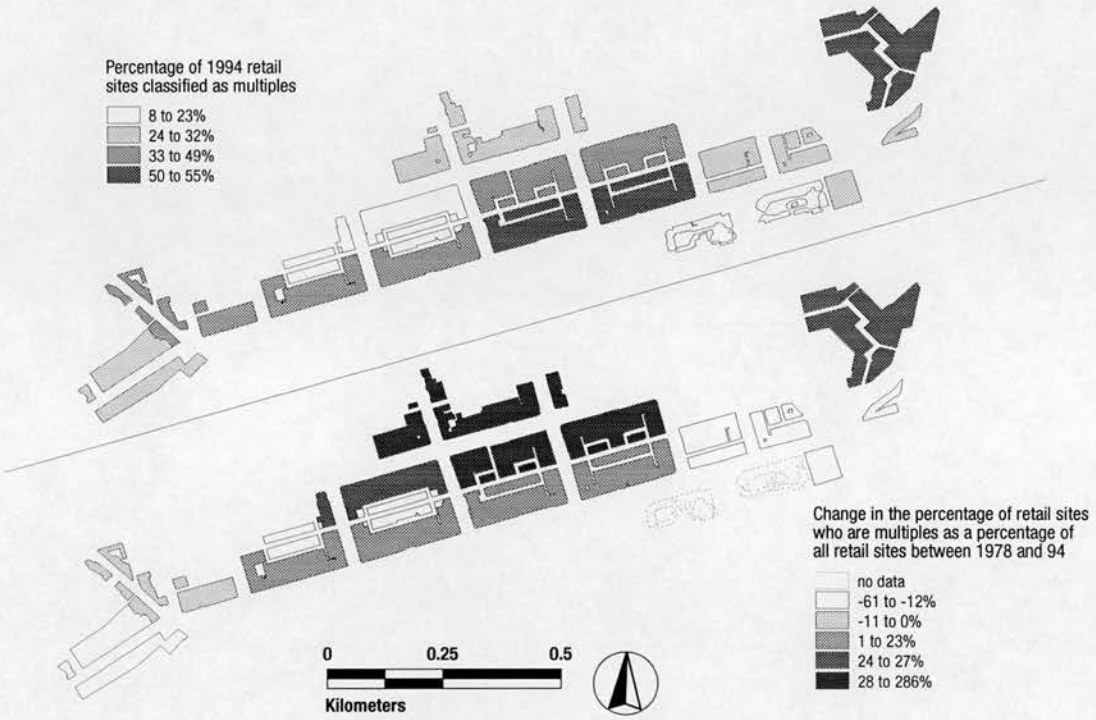
the concentration of retail chain sites in 1994 closely mirrors the overall distribution of chain sites in the Princes Street Region, though the patterns of change over the study period show significant increases in the number of retail chain sites along George street and an overall concentration around the geographic centre of Princes Street itself.



Map 7.19: St. Giles — Retail multiples, 1978-94

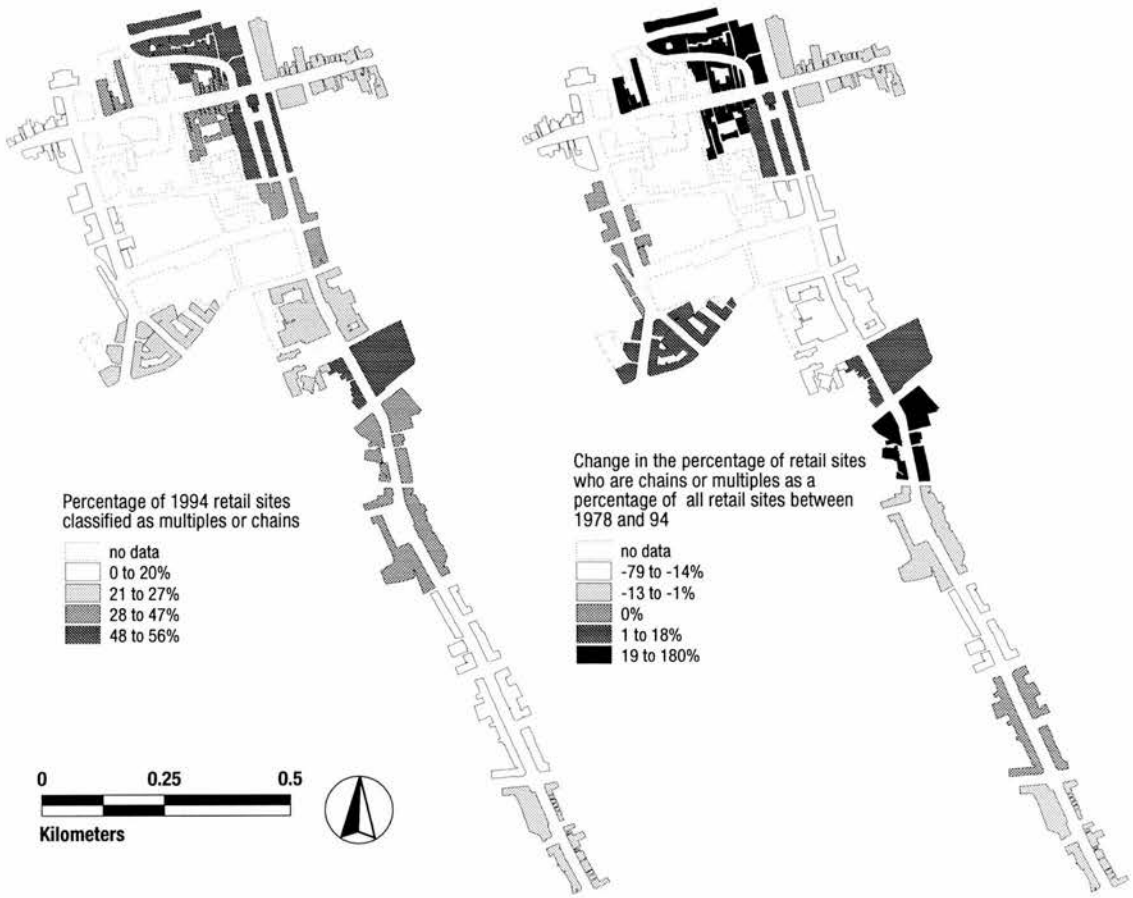
Map 7.19 shows the data for retail multiples in the St. Giles Region. While the overall distribution of these multiples is broadly similar to that of all multiples in the Area, albeit with somewhat higher concentrations, the pattern of change of these sites over the length of the study period is perhaps their most interesting feature. There are only four Areas in the Region that show any growth in the number of retail multiples (and only one of those shows significant growth), with the vast majority of sites showing often quite considerable declines. In 1978 there were four Areas where more than 30% of all retail sites were multiples, but only two of these maintained significant numbers of retail multiples over the study period. Perhaps not coincidentally, these are also the

two Areas with the highest proportion of retail chain sites in the St. Giles Region.

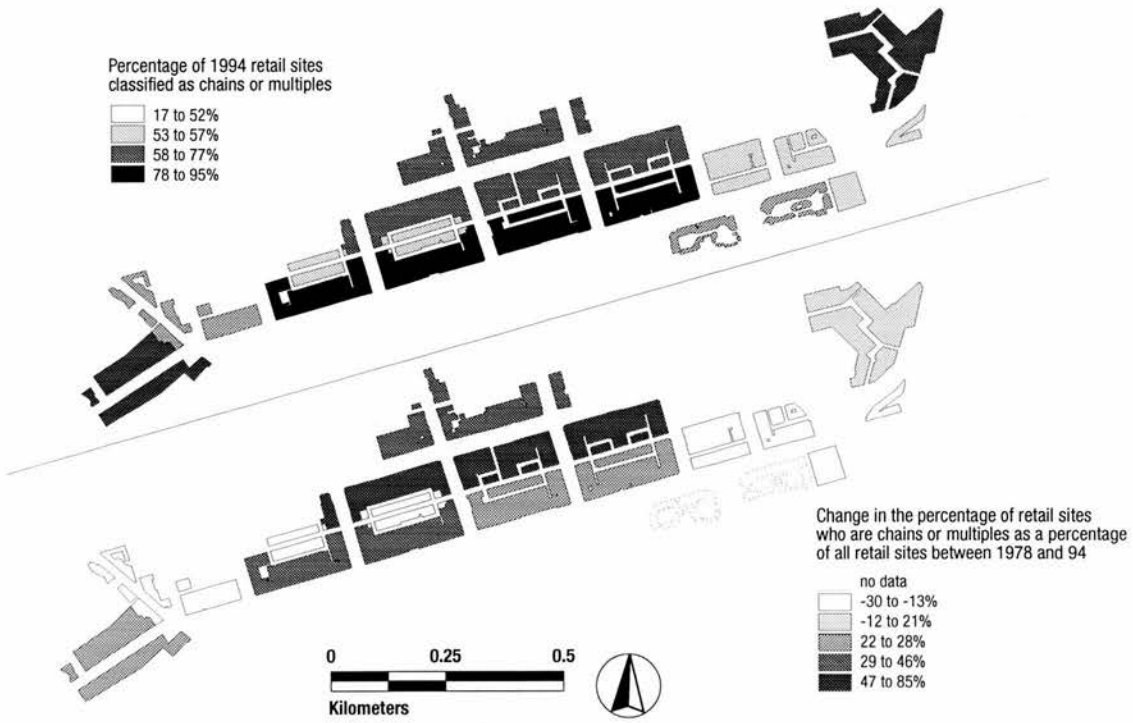


Map 7.20: Princes Street — Retail multiples, 1978-94

The retail multiple data for Princes Street is shown in Map 7.20. Only the St. James' Centre and a section of Princes Street show high concentrations of multiples, with a peak of 55%, which is broadly comparable to the 45% peak in the St. Giles Region. Two Areas show declines of more than 50% in the numbers of retail multiples, a decline which is completely atypical of the Princes Street data: this, when combined with the significant growth in the numbers of retail multiples in other Areas, indicates that a not inconsiderable amount of geographical migration is taking place, with multiples moving towards George Street, The St. James' Centre, and to a somewhat lesser degree the centre of Princes Street. If the data for chains and multiples is combined as in Map 7.21, we can see clearly the concentration of chains and multiples along an axis running south from the Royal Mile, and the relatively low levels of either chains or multiples outside of this Area of concentration. This is in clear contrast to the considerable levels of concentration of retail multiples and chains shown in the Princes Street Region in Map 7.22.



Map 7.21: Retail sites who are chains or multiples, St. Giles 1978-94



Map 7.22: Retail sites who are chains or multiples, Princes Street 1978-94

Map 7.22 indicates the extremely high concentration of retail chains and multiples in the Princes Street Region: nine of the eleven Areas have more then 50% of their retail sites classified as either retail chains or multiples, four are more than 60% retail chains and multiples, and perhaps most importantly, two Areas are over 90% retail chains/multiples. In comparison, in 1978 six of the ten Areas has more than 50% retail chains or multiples, and the highest concentration was 71%. The overall average percentage of retail chains or multiples rose from 50% to 59% in 1994, while the percentage of retail chains had increased from 41% to 55%, and the percentage of retail multiples had increased only slightly from 33% to 34%.

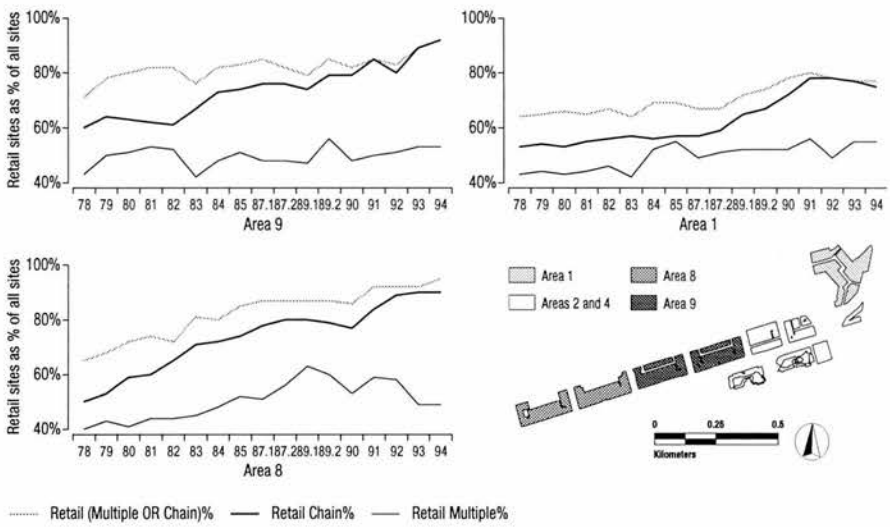


Figure 7.40: Concentration of Retail chains and multiples in Princes' Street, 1978-94

Figure 7.40 shows the change in numbers of retail chains and multiples for Areas 1, 8 and 9, the three Areas in the Princes Street Region who had more than 75% of their retail sites classed as chains in 1994. What is clear from the graphs is that while the overall numbers of retail chains and multiples have been steadily increasing in all three Areas, there is increasingly a large and growing gap between the numbers of retail multiples and the numbers of retail chains in the Areas. This indicates that 'local' (non-chain) multiples are becoming increasingly squeezed out of these three Areas.

7.4.2: Leisure, Chains and Multiples

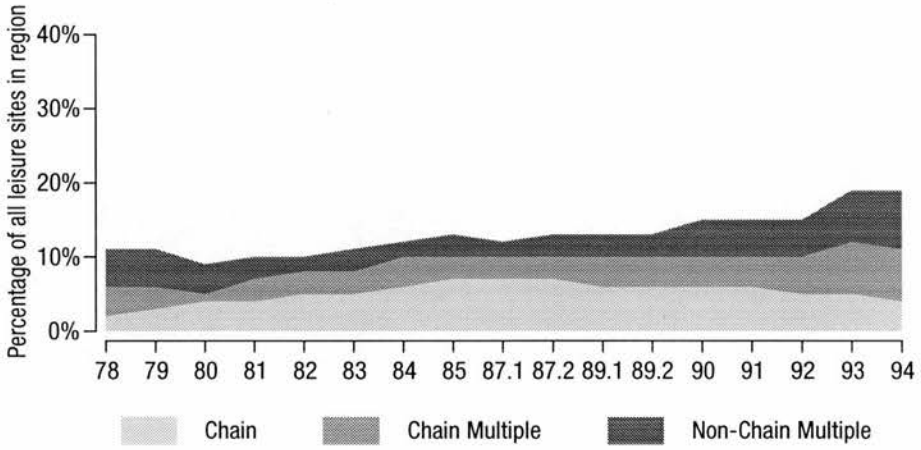


Figure 7.41: Leisure sites by capital classification, St. Giles

Figure 7.41 shows the slow penetration of chains and multiples into the leisure sector. Overall, the numbers of multiples are slowly growing from 9% to 15% of all retail sites, as are the numbers of chain multiples. The percentage of retail sites who are chains has almost doubled over this time, rising from 6% to 11% in 1994. The numbers of single-site chains are declining in relative terms after a peak in the mid 80s, and it is clear that the growth of leisure chains has stagnated since 1984. The numbers of non-chain leisure multiples, after declining slowly towards the mid 80s has shown strong growth since the 90s.

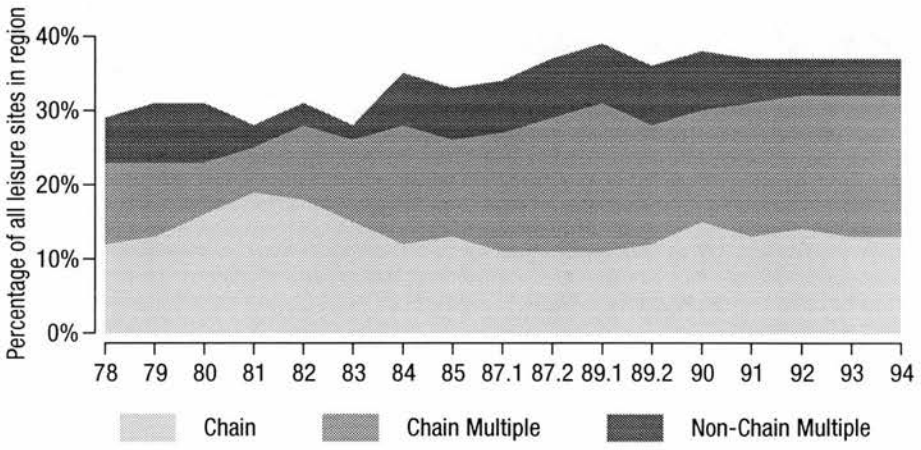


Figure 7.42: Leisure sites by capital classification, Princes' Street

In direct contrast to Figure 7.41 is Figure 7.42, which shows a far higher penetration of chains and multiples into the leisure sector than is the case in the St. Giles study Region. The data indicates a steady increase in the numbers of

leisure chains, and an increasing proportion of chain-multiples. The number of non-chain multiples has varied considerably over the first five years of the study, although the data does show a peak in 1984, which is probably attributable to the growth in the Princes Street Goad dataset.

7.4.3: Services, Chains and Multiples

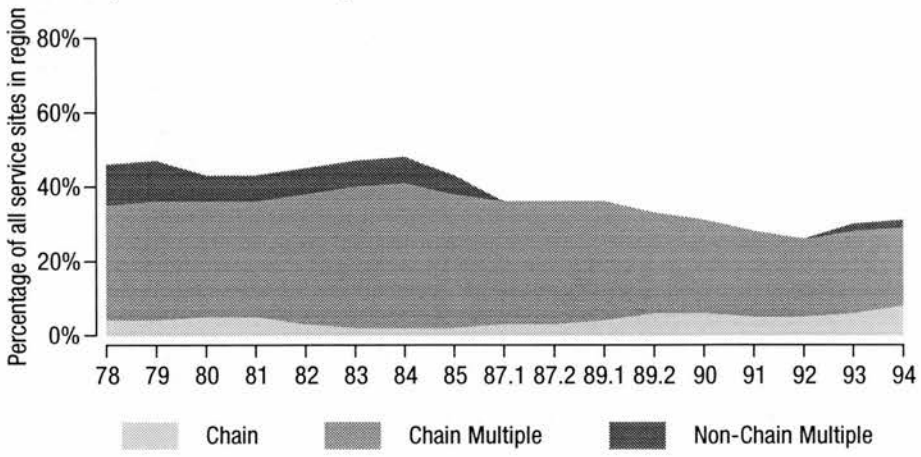


Figure 7.43: Service sites by capital classification, St. Giles

The service sector shows the highest percentages of chains and multiples of the three categories in the St. Giles Region. There is a significant proportion of multiples overall, and a predominance of chain multiples. The overall proportion of (all) chains in the Region drops noticeably after the mid 80s, which coincides with the disappearance of all non-chain multiples for eight years, between 1985 and 1993.

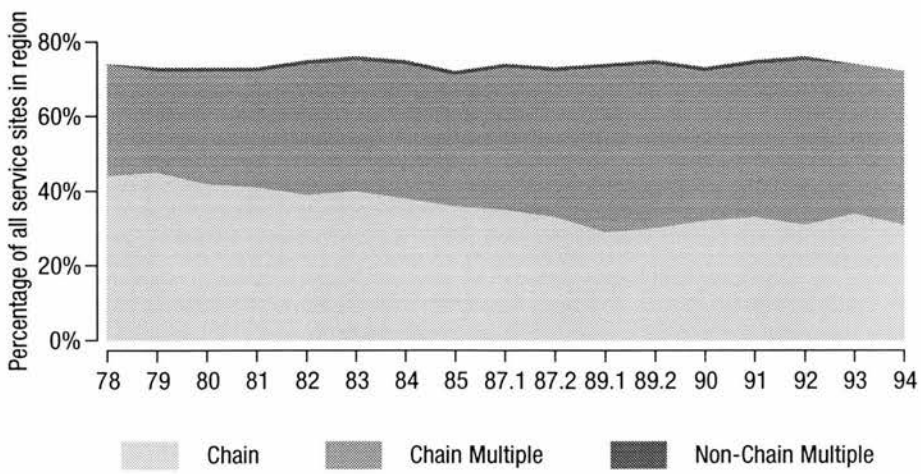


Figure 7.44: Retail sites by capital classification, Princes' Street

As with the leisure data, the Princes Street Region shows a far higher penetration of service chains and multiples than does the St. Giles Region, with overall rates almost double those of St. Giles, at 70-75% of all service sites. There is an exceptionally low representation of non-chain multiples over the entire length of the study period. The increasing dominance of service chain-multiples, who grew in number from 30% to 41%, is almost a mirror image of the declining relative numbers of single- site chains, who declined from 44% of all services in 1978 to 31% in 1994.

7.5: The changing Street

There is clear evidence to support the much theorised shift towards increased leisure uses. However, the data calls into question the conception of leisure, given the usual inference that links leisure and tourism, for the changes in the two study Regions indicate a considerable expansion in the provision of non-tourist leisure facilities (primarily through the supply of convenience/hot foods). This should not be taken as disproving conventional assumptions about leisure changes, as there is clear evidence of the development of a significant concentration of tourist facilities along the Royal Mile, where tourist services and facilities are emerging as dominant site uses. In addition, the St. Giles study Region shows the development of significant concentrations of pubs, restaurants and takeaway food providers in and around the centre of the Old Town.

Analysis of the distribution of chain stores throughout the study Regions indicates a marked disparity in their distribution. While Princes Street is dominated by chains, the penetration of chains in the St. Giles study Region is considerably lower, at about a third of the rate of the Princes Street study Region. While there is little evidence to support arguments that characterise the city as becoming part of a homogenous globalised mass, it is equally true that portions of Princes Street contain no non-chain sites, indicating the relative truth of these assertions at very local (and particular) levels.

Defining multiples through an analysis of rates of multiple site occupancy has generated a unique perspective upon trajectories of local change. By excluding chain sites from multiples, it becomes possible to chart the changes in

particularly local multiples. This new perspective gives us key insights into the nature of change, for it provides clear evidence of the decline of retailing in the St. Giles Region that is otherwise not present in other forms of analysis of the same data. While inferences about the state of the local economy can be made by comparing vacancy rates, this data does not provide the clear indications of decline that is evident in the collapse in numbers of local multiples in the early 80s in the St. Giles Region. Analyses based upon the changing relationship between chains and multiples show considerable potential for developing unique insights into local patterns of change and restructuring.

Chapter 8: Visions of the Street

Conceptualising the relationship between change and the urban (and the street in particular), is problematic, particularly attempting to theorise the links between theoretical conceptions of the street and the actual detail of local change. Meta-narratives of change have been shown to not only be theoretically suspect, but have been even more strongly questioned by changes 'on the ground' which challenge the applicability of many of the modernist visions of change. In particular, the considerable evidence for a highly stable urban street explored in Chapter 6 highlights the fallacy of cities as places of constant change.

Other aspects of the modernist caricature fare better. The material on the automobile explored in Chapter 5 clearly shows that debates around the role of the automobile continue to carry great relevance to Edinburgh today: visions of the "efficient city", one structured around the rational distribution of services and resources and fundamentally shaped by influence of the automobile (exemplified by the conflict between Princes Street's twin roles as a traffic corridor and a pedestrian centre of leisure and consumption) remain fundamental to debates about the nature, role and future of the local street.

Visions of the Modern City as one which annihilates its predecessors are clearly exaggerations: the evidence here (particularly through the role of listed buildings) questions the universality of such discourses, although this result may reflect the particular choices of study regions. Visions of the corporate city, which dominate American readings of the city (e.g. Davis, 1992) are revealed as unrepresentative of the European experience: it is arguable that, while these visions may describe the 'modern' North American mega-city (Los Angeles, Houston, and arguably Toronto and Montreal), it is very doubtful if they apply to smaller cities world-wide (particularly in Europe), or even to Manhattan itself.

Postmodern visions of the changing urban experience provide many fruitful ideas for analysis, although the lack of a clear over-arching model or narrative has made it difficult to discern particular 'universal' postmodern traits. The focus on organised leisure and spectacle of much of the literature (particularly that focusing on the mall and the 'Fantasy City', e.g. Shields, 1989; Hannigan, 1998) forms a

sharp contrast against other postmodern calls for emphases upon the 'mundane', the common/everyday place(s) of experience (Hayden, 1995; Morris, 1988). It is important to attempt to situate the street as a central component of the urban experience, be it modern, postmodern, or some combination of the two.

It is more problematic to attempt to link the results of the thesis to many of the prevailing conceptions of consumption, given the thesis' focus on change on the ground, rather than on the perceptions of users of the street as a site of consumption. It is clear from the material that while depictions of the global, corporate street articulated by some consumption analyses (Jones, 1991; Crawford, 1992) are considerably overstated and grossly unrepresentative of the study areas **as a whole**, it is also clear that in particular parts of the city (along the central portion of Princes Street in this case), these analyses have considerable **local** applicability.

The wider issues of the 'consumption as euphemism for lifestyle' debates (Campbell, 1995: p. 117; McRobbie, 1997: p. 75) are harder to address, as many of these arguments are rather divorced from the reality of consumption **as an exchange process,** one that is necessarily articulated through physical (or increasingly cyber-) space. The methods used here are unable to throw light upon such prevailing conceptions of 'consumption', as the thesis takes such a contrary view of the whole consumption debate itself. The thesis re-emphasises the role of place and of the environment within the process of consumption itself, emphasising the position of urban space as a fundamental and constituent part of the exchange process itself (rather than as part of the advertising process, e.g. Sack, 1992). This is in sharp contrast to many of the more esoteric consumption debates, which marginalise the roles of space and the environment, despite their centrality both to the planning of cities, and to the progressive re-imagining of urban environments which is characteristic of so much of the 'postmodern' revitalisation and urban redevelopment.

It is clear that the street and its analysis is central to the development of urban 'spatial narratives' (Zukin, 1992; Meethan, 1996) that recognise that spaces have their own particular histories (Morris, 1988). Unfortunately, in much of the recent literature the 'mundane' street has been largely relegated to a site of

'unknown' change, despite its central position within urban consumption. The thesis argues that the street should be viewed as a stage, with consumers performing as actors upon (and within) the stage set. The street, its sets and its staging, is not a fixed entity, but a fluid environment which is continuously changing and evolving at the local level. The study of the street is the study of the geography of consumption at its most urban and fundamental.

The street is a site of continuous change, one that is constantly being redefined. From the arcade to the department store, to the mall to the festival market place, the history of urban development has paralleled the development of new street forms. Geographers' interests have echoed these shifts, leaving the 'ordinary' street under-theorised and under-studied (Crewe and Lowe, 1995). The remainder of this chapter summarises the data, methods and the results that have been previously presented, and contextualises these theoretical narratives of the changing city (and of change itself) within an analysis at the local scale. These results emphasise the importance of analysing change at local scales, finding considerable support for Massey's (1994: p. 127) arguments about the specificities of change and the difficulties of extrapolating wider trends onto local landscapes.

8.1: Goad Data as source material

The results of this study indicate that the Goad material provides a good source of data on urban change, subject to certain caveats. Comparisons within the 34 source maps indicates a high degree of consistency within the datasets, and no inaccurate occupant data was identified. There is however a case for some form of alternative field survey to provide a more explicit examination/verification of the accuracy of Goad's data collection. Practise showed that with the development of precisely tailored software it is possible to transcribe the data in these types of maps quickly and accurately: it is difficult, however, to see how this data could be accurately transcribed without the use of a GIS system. The only significant issue that arose while using the maps was that of the poor reproduction of the older maps, where Goad supplied poor copies, rather than originals: this experience indicates that while the use of Goad maps is relatively unproblematic, the acquisition of usable source copies may be more of

a problem, and users may need to supplement the material provided by Goad with access to original copies of the maps. Hindsight shows that it would have been better to purchase a licence to copy the material from Goad, and then arrange for higher quality copies to be made from originals held by the National Library of Scotland.

The compilation of the Goad data itself introduces issues which should not be ignored when using the material. There is considerable evidence to indicate that many of Goad's site uses are overly specific and represent the biases of the surveyors, rather than representing self-reported definitions of occupant uses. This is most evident with the distinctions Goad makes between the numerous types of clothing retailers: in these cases it is arguably better to use a broader more encompassing definitions of uses than Goad's, which infer a level of detail which is not necessarily accurate or appropriate. The second flaw within Goad's data is the practice of ascribing a single all-encompassing use to each site. There are a number of sites within the study Regions, especially along Princes Street, which clearly contain multiple site uses: this simplification becomes very clear if Goad's data is compared with the local tax records which clearly indicate multiple uses and subdivisions.

Goad's data also gives a slightly false picture of the uses of the street (in the broadest sense) by the inconsistent treatment of above and below street uses, and especially with the identification of all above street uses (be they retail, residential etc.) simply as 'Entrance'. This, when combined with Goad's choices of study areas (which focuses primarily on recognised retail areas and their environs) means that the picture the Goad data provides for the provision of services in the areas may be a considerable under-estimation of the actual numbers of services (etc.) in these neighbourhoods. Goad's material is also unsuitable as a source to study questions like 'evening leisure', which are better served by field surveys, as Goad's rather generic data does not provide information like opening hours. Given that Goad's material is invariably geographically constrained, the data is of limited use as a basis for the study of the expansion of retailing (etc.), as many areas of considerable interest (including the Grassmarket and Victoria Street in the St. Giles study Region) are not

covered by the surveys.

With the more recent Goad maps being based upon computerised site and building data provided by the Ordnance Survey, it can be expected that the accuracy of the collected data will increase, and that it will be much easier to identify cases of site redevelopment and boundary changes from changes in the Goad material.

8.2: Methodological issues arising

Two substantive methodological issues arose during the analysis of the collected Goad data. The first, and arguably the most irritating and repeatedly problematic issue, was that of flexibility (or lack thereof) of the broad classification systems that were used to subdivide sites into the broad groupings of similar uses (retailing, leisure etc.). In theory, dividing the site uses in the two study Regions into five broad use categories (retail, leisure, services, institutional, and other) was an obvious and straightforward first step towards generating a profile of the makeup of the street, and analysing how/if this was changing.

In practice, attempts to assign sites within each of the fixed categories of the Broad Use Classification (BUC) proved to be problematic and excessively inflexible. As the uses of many sites arguably spanned two if not three of these uses, it is clear that a more flexible set of definitions, perhaps based upon these five categories but allowing complementary intermediate groupings (e.g. retail/leisure, leisure/services etc.) would have been more appropriate. Tweaking the classifications of site uses cannot however overcome the fundamental methodological problem inherent within subjective forms of site classification: a substantial component of this quantitative process is invariably predicated upon a collation of repeated qualitative judgements about the nature and role of particular site uses. By expanding the classification options within the Broad Use Classification and allowing for a more nuanced and flexible assessment of the numerous site uses that fell between the main classification categories, the subjectivity of site classification that eventually required the supplementary classification of sites into additional category specific groupings (i.e. leisure sites, service sites) would have been more appropriately addressed.

With the aggregation of use data came the realisation that the many flavours of 'vacancies' in the street represented one of the dominant, if not the dominant, site uses across both Regions. This should have been recognised by the addition of a 'vacant' category to the five part BUC classification discussed above: this would have made it far easier to isolate the role of vacancies in urban change, especially when attempting to track changing site uses across the broader use categories.

The second significant methodological issue which arose was the handling of the expansion of the Princes Street data set as a result of the expansion of Goad's survey area. While it was initially felt that the addition of these extra sites would not have a significant impact upon patterns within the dataset, it became clear during the analysis that this expansion made it more difficult to track many types of change over the length of the study period, as analyses of the Princes Street data invariably showed substantial changes in 1984 which had a knock-on effect throughout the following decade's data. While it was relatively straightforward to eliminate the impact of some of this change by excluding the data for Area 4 (only data from the Waverly Centre), the remainder of the additional sites were included within two pre-existing Areas (Areas 5 and 6). This meant that the exclusion of this data was not a straightforward process, and indicates that assigning all of the new sites to new Areas, rather than to pre-existing ones, would have been a better decision, as it would have allowed the exclusion of these new Areas to allow a more straightforward analysis of change in the remaining Areas within the Region. While corrections could theoretically be applied to some data, it was not possible to apply any form of correction to the data that was calculated for multiples within the study Region. This highlights the considerable difficulty in attempting to retrospectively re-classify data, especially after beginning any analysis, and points towards the advantages of using relatively complex relational database systems to store data.

8.3: Modernity and the experience of the street: change and stability

Visions of the city as a constantly changing annihilator of history (and by inference, authenticity) are questioned by the results of analyses of change and stability. Berman (1982) views the modern experience as the site (or experience)

of the tensions between the forces of change and those of stability, a tension which results in a modern city that is "chronically unstable"(Oakes, 1997: p. 527). It is clear from the data that analyses that portray the urban street as constantly changing are correct, although the actual rate of overall site change is relatively low, approximately 15% per year. There is no evidence of increases in the overall rates of change over the length of the study period in either Region, as has been suggested as a characteristic of the transition from modern to post-modern landscapes. The variations within the annual rates of change contained within the data have been correlated with periods of substantial site redevelopment, rather with wider patterns of occupant change per se, which reinforces the perception of relatively stable rates of change within the two study Regions.

Data describing the relatively low overall rates of change do however hide several aspects of change which arguably act to exaggerate perceptions of how quickly the city is changing. Perhaps most visible is the significant role vacant sites play in the street: in the St. Giles Region vacancies were the largest (numerical) site use over the study period, and one of the largest uses in the Princes Street Region. While the data indicates that the majority of site change does not involve a transition through a vacant site*, significant numbers do, and it is clear that these relatively high levels of vacancies may act to emphasise the dynamic nature of the street. Another factor which may serve to emphasise the perceptions of change is the strong association revealed by the data which reveals that site changes are often marked by a fundamental difference between the types of uses of old and new occupants.

When evaluating change however, the data indicates just how vital it is to simultaneously consider the persistence of the street: the cumulative impact of change is a fundamental characteristic of change itself. There are aspects of the street that can be argued to be 'chronically unstable', but the data indicates that rather than describing large amounts or sites of fluctuation, this actually more

* This is probably an inevitable result of annual site surveys: more frequent surveys would provide more accurate data by identifying vacancies that appear and disappear between surveys.

accurately characterises a small number of sites which are the focus of repeated change (cf. Map 7.1, and Chapter 7.27: The Constantly Changing Street), and which represent a disproportionate amount of the total change. These sites may help sustain a **perception** of rapid rates of change, even if these high levels of change are not reflective of the wider patterns of change.

While there is a certain amount of geographic concentration of these sites, this clustering often corresponds to neighbourhoods undergoing significant revitalisation/reconstruction. In contrast to these sites of high change, there are significant numbers of sites which show little, if any change over the duration of the study period: 60% of all sites in both Regions had either one or two occupants, with all sites averaging just 2.5 occupants over the seventeen year study period. This vividly highlights the flaws inherent in focusing solely upon change itself, rather than upon the more nuanced and cumulative impact of successive changes and the significant role of persistent sites whose stability and presence is often ignored by the literature. To focus on space solely as a "dynamic medium" (Zukin, 1992: p. 224) may miss the underlying taken for granted stability of the urban reality.

Understanding these dynamics of transition and stability is critical if we are to develop the grounding necessary to question the local impact of analyses of urban transition. It has been widely argued that we are in the middle of a fundamental "transformation of landscape" (Zukin, 1992: p. 223): while this may be true of gentrifying areas in the United States, the Edinburgh evidence questions the applicability of this rhetoric of change, given the continued persistence of older ('vernacular') landscapes throughout the length of the study, the slow overall rates of landscape evolution, and the significant investments in preserving existing streetscapes which indicate a 'reinforcement' of landscape, rather than transition.

This persistence of existing forms leads us to question Harvey's (1989a) conception of the 'ephemeral' postmodern city, which closely parallels Jameson's (1984: p. 69) arguments about the "disappearance of a sense of history" (Cooke, 1990: p. 111) . Arguably, there is a bias in the literature towards the assumption that many occupants, in particular chains and multiples, have a somewhat 'un-

historic' position in the landscape (Luxenberg, 1986), despite the strong historic roots of many chains in the landscape (Mort and Thompson, 1994)*.

While 'historic' readings of the landscape have been shown to be highly subjective (see Hayden, 1995; Francaviglia, 1996), and the landscape itself subject to considerable manipulation through Facadism and urban redevelopment (Richards, 1994), the data indicates that the Edinburgh streetscape contains considerable historic attributes, both in terms of the physical street fabric on one hand, and in highly persistent occupants and uses on the other, with over 20% of 1994 sites not showing any change during the study period, and over a third of all sites being over 10 years old.

Over a third of all 1994 sites by contrast are less than 5 years old: this reinforces the belief that the street should be seen as constantly in flux, and exhibiting considerable simultaneous amounts of change and stability. It is clear that the street should not be regarded as either changing or stable, but rather a nuanced combination of the two: the street is still defined by "the presence of the past in a present that supersedes it but still lays claim to it" (Augé, 1995: p. 75).

The results reveal the necessity to conceptualise the street as a modernist phenomenon, one that displays both stability and change in constant tension. It is clear that the more monolithic conceptions of change somewhat exaggerate the amount and role of change within the landscape, and that the vision of an ever more rapidly changing landscape is by this evidence revealed to be more perceptual than evidenced by change on the ground. The concept of change is revealed to be highly fractured, representing the summation of numerous processes operating at different time-scales: in overall terms, change is slow and steady, while exhibiting considerable amounts of very local concentration. Perception plays an important role in understanding analyses of the street, and it is clear that while there are a number of factors which give the impression of significant amounts of repeated change in the landscape, they are

* Casual study of earlier Goad maps (i.e. pre 1978) and plaques on buildings along Princes Street indicates that a number of sites have been occupied by particular chains for over 40 years.

counterbalanced by significant amounts of stability and of slower and more gradual urban evolution.

Most importantly, this work reinforces the importance of studying the street: it emphasises that the street is not a stable phenomenon, and that it is a site of change that reflects the wider changes within society. It also emphasises the need to move beyond concepts of landscape that infer this stability, and highlights the continual evolution of the street, even within relatively fixed and stable physical/architectural frameworks.

Wither postmodernism? The role and validity of postmodern discourses is highly dependant upon analyses of change and the urban. It is clear from the evidence that conceptions of the postmodern city must in reality be heavily embedded within those of the modern city itself: reflecting not only the slow rate of overall urban change but the high levels of stability and persistence within the urban street itself. While the data does indicate significant changes over the length of the study period, these represent the accumulation of years of slow change, rather than seismic shifts from one urban form to another. This reinforces the belief that not all change can be conceptualised as happening solely within the modern/postmodern rubric: the postmodern transition is not the only source of change, nor is it the only motive for change within the landscape, as such perspectives minimise in particular the wider changes in social perspectives and government urban policy that also have significant impacts upon the study Regions.

It is clear from the analyses of the planning materials for the study Regions that it is the planning process, and substantial investments by Local and Regional governments, that have been most significant in changing the nature of the street. The wider assumptions of the role of capital and consumption in (re)shaping the landscape must be contextualised within a local framework that takes account of these alternative structural changes. While the nature of the street is profoundly shaped by its occupants, to focus solely upon them, and their role in consumption processes, marginalises the considerable impact of governmental bodies (such as the Council, the relevant conservation and development bodies, and the Scottish Office) who are not only intent on

reshaping the street in particular ways but who have both the capital and the political means to translate their visions into changes on the ground.

8.4: The question of homogeneity

References to homogeneity and globalisation, placelessness, and cities as sites of multinational capital (or alternatively as 'non-places') abound within the geographic (and wider) literature (de Certeau, 1984; Jameson, 1984; Zukin, 1992; Stallabrass, 1996). Many of these discourses are however somewhat vague, especially if we wish to use them as a framework to interrogate the local experience of change, as they tend to refer to generally accepted conceptualisations, and as such avoid detailed (practical) exposition. The net result of this is that when we wish to analyse homogeneity (etc.) in the street, it becomes necessary to expand upon exactly what homogeneity means.

We have seen three somewhat different definitions of homogeneity used so far in this analysis: increasing homogeneity defined as a decline in the overall number of site uses, as changes within particular sites uses, and perhaps most conventionally as a shorthand for (or an indicator of) the penetration of chains and multiples into the urban landscape. Even these multiple definitions do not cover all possible aspects of homogeneity: it can also be defined in terms of the sale of branded goods within (all) stores, or in terms of the increasing proliferation of corporate signs and symbolism in the landscape.

If we use the number of uses in the Region as a potential indicator of homogeneity, the data indicates that if we use Goad's very specific site uses as a basis for comparison the overall numbers of unique uses in the St. Giles Region shows some fluctuations but remained relatively constant, while the Princes Street data shows an increase in unique uses of over 30%. If we use more generic definitions of site uses, the data shows no change whatsoever in the number of uses over the study period.

Breaking these Regional numbers down into the smaller geographic Areas, it becomes clear that there **are** sizeable variations between the numbers of different uses in different areas within each Region: however it is **also** clear that these differences appear to be stable. This indicates that there are (and have been)

noticeable variations in numbers of uses at small 'neighbourhood' scales, but that there is no evidence of any transition towards homogeneity within the data. Similarly, analyses of the dominant site uses at the Regional scale indicates that while there are changes in the numbers of particular uses, there is very little evidence of the consolidation of uses.

Analyses of the impacts of chains are however more revealing, both for what the data tells us about changing levels of homogeneity and about the essential applicability and specificity of much of the related commentary. Comparisons of the penetration of chains in each of the study Regions reveals substantial differences between them, even though they are separated by less than a kilometre. In the Princes Street Region, the percentage of all sites which were chains grew from over 35% in 1978 to almost 45% by 1994: in the St. Giles Region the numbers of chains remained constant, at approximately 15%. This difference is in itself significant, as it highlights just how geographically bounded much of the discourse on chains is 'on the ground': the increasing dominance of chains is obviously not a universal phenomenon throughout the city, but a very geographically specific phenomenon, and as such somewhat unrepresentative of the wider urban street. Outside the traditional 'high street', the evidence of a widespread shift towards landscapes dominated by capital is weak: within the St. Giles Region, there was only one Area where chains represented more than 25% of all sites in 1994, while in contrast in the Princes Street Region there was only one Area where this was not true. While there are Areas in the St. Giles Region that show substantial increases in the numbers of chains during the study period, a third of the Areas show declines in the numbers of chain sites. Taken together, the data for chains within the St. Giles Region problematises much of the discourse surrounding the role of chains by highlighting and indeed emphasising the particular specificity (and indeed the simplicity) of these discourses.

Even though the number of chain sites in the Princes Street Region is much higher than in the St. Giles Region, it must be emphasised that (at least in 1994) they still represented less than 50% of the Region's sites, and while this percentage was seen to steadily increase, the rate of overall increase was only 1/2% per year. The proportion of new occupants who are chains is considerably

less than the overall proportion of chains in the street: highlighting the incremental nature of the Region's transition. Similarly, in both Regions the clear majority of sites which closed were not chains, which may create a perception that chains are more persistent, even though the data questions this assumption.

Despite the considerable evidence questioning the wider applicability of homogenising discourses, there is also a great deal of evidence to support them, albeit in very limited areas within one Region. If we focus on retail sites, it is clear that in the Princes Street Region, and especially along Princes Street itself, that we are seeing the emergence of the much vaunted/feared global landscape, with chains occupying between half and three quarters of all retail sites by 1994. These Areas have also shown significant increases in the numbers of chains over the length of the study period, which emphasises that the 'retail revolution' of the 1980s (Dawson, 1988) has continued throughout the 90s.

Comparison of the Princes Street Region with the St. Giles Region reveals the marked disparities between the two Regions, with the Princes Street data showing a substantial concentration of chain sites unique within the two Regions (and the remainder of Edinburgh). While Crewe and Lowe have argued that "there is no imminent danger of a homogenous geography of advanced capitalism" (1995: p. 1880), these results do clearly show that at local scales these homogenous geographies have emerged, with Areas around Princes Street where there are few, if any, non-chain retailers. In addition, it is clear that in these Areas with very high proportions of chains the number of multiples within these chain sites is increasing as the overall numbers of chain sites rise, reinforcing perceptions of homogeneity. In contrast, the St. Giles Region shows very few examples of chain multiples, with the noticeable exception of banking and financial services.

Whether it is possible to link this homogenisation with discourses on the death of the 'local' and the growth of what Featherstone has described as 'no-place space' (1994: p. 392) is somewhat more problematic. While Princes Street itself may symbolise "the 'malling' of retail space" (Crewe, 1994: p. 23) the argument that this represents "interchangeable urban spaces divorced from local

context" (Savage and Warde, 1993: p. 141) rests on 'myths' of authenticity, where "an alienating and monolithic capitalism" has subsumed 'real' or 'local' experience (Thrift, 1997: p. 141).

In some senses, the uniqueness and the visual dominance of the distinctive historical landscape into which Princes Street has been carved will arguably always ensure that the experience of flânerie, of funshopping, of the exchange function of consumption, will in this particular place always be a local, if mediated, experience. It must also be remembered that many of the Areas with the highest proportion of chains show some of the longest average site occupancies, and the lowest number of sites with large numbers of occupants: while dominated by chains, these Areas are arguably also marked by high levels of occupant stability, and often act as fixed (and often historic in and of themselves) landmarks within the street.

The evidence of this research points to the need to ground research in the reality of change and restructuring, rather than its accompanying rhetoric. We must make strong distinctions between the economic geography of the mall, which seeks and is highly dominated by corporate capital, and the reality of the city streets which display different dynamics and processes.

This research has emphasised the need to study the particularly local geographies of the street, which so many have recognised as understudied and under theorised (Crewe and Lowe, 1995; Jackson and Thrift, 1995), and which, as Massey (1994) has recognised, give us an ideal opportunity to study change 'on the ground', and to theorise from changes at the local level. While globalisation is visible within the landscapes of the study Regions, but the putative landscapes of global capital are not dominant, as they exist only along Princes Street itself. This is yet another example of the weakness of totalising discourses, and reflects the considerable distinctions between the globalisation visible in the mall, and that visible in particular streets. Assumptions of globalisation may reflect the dominance of discourses highly influenced by the North/American experience, while the Edinburgh street reveals considerable differences between the rhetoric of sameness and the complexity of reality.

The impact of the Retail revolution is made clear through this data. It is clear that the transition towards a high street dominated by chains and multiples did not taper off during the 80s but continued into the early 90s, leading to the current situation where chains and multiples occupy all but a few sites in the prime Princes Street Areas. The data does indicate however just how geographically concentrated this transition actually is: the Princes Street concentration is completely unrepresentative of the study site in its entirety. This material thus problematises the concept of the 'high street', which by this evidence differs substantially from the surrounding retail landscape, revealing the fundamental metaphor to be highly specific, rather than a general description of the urban condition, and as such potentially questionable as a shorthand to describe the condition of the retail street.

8.5: The local and the street

If we use an alternative definition of homogeneity that emphasises the similarity between areas by identifying tenants who occupy multiple sites simultaneously throughout both Regions, somewhat different patterns of similarity emerge. As was the case with chains, it is clear that there are substantially more multiples in the Princes Street Region than there are in the St. Giles Region, although the differences are not as marked, with there being significantly fewer multiples in the Princes Street Region than there are chains, while the numbers of chains and multiples in the St. Giles Region are roughly similar. The distributions and patterns of change in the numbers of multiples are significantly different between the two Regions: the data shows a considerable decline in the numbers of multiples in the St. Giles Region during most of the study period, while the numbers in the Princes Street Region remained broadly static. There are no significant concentrations of multiples in the St. Giles Region, with only two Areas (out of sixteen) with more than 25% multiples: in contrast, only two Areas in the Princes Street Region had less than 25% multiples, with most Areas having multiples in somewhere between a quarter and a third of their sites, with the highest concentrations along Princes Street itself, where there is a high correlation between chains and multiples. Given the relatively small sample size of the two Regions, these high levels of multiples is

somewhat surprising, but this emphasises just how many occupants/firms are repeated within the local (and especially Princes Street) landscape, and that considerable levels of homogeneity (or perhaps more accurately *sameness*) exist at these very local levels. How can we conceive of 'local uniqueness' (Crewe and Lowe, 1995: p. 1879) when Areas exhibit such local homogeneity?

Such questions invariably beg the question of what is 'local' in all of these analyses. Are we looking for indicators of local ownership, local employment, local control? Is it not possible for sites to be 'local' but simultaneously 'national' or even international? If we assume that all non-chain sites are 'local', then removing chain sites from the multiple data leaves us with what are effectively 'local' multiples, which give us a rather different perspective on the transition of the Edinburgh street. While it was earlier indicated that the numbers of multiples declined markedly in the St. Giles Region during the study period, breaking down multiples into chain and non-chain multiples indicates that in fact the number of chain-multiples has remained static, with the number of local multiples collapsing, declining by almost 80% between 1978 and the end of 1987, before beginning a slow recovery in the early 90s. This change coincides with the closure of a number of department stores within the St. Giles study Region, and the opening of competing shopping centres immediately to the south of the Region. The data for the Princes Street Region shows a different pattern of change, with numbers of local multiples broadly constant before beginning a sudden decline in the early 90s.

These very particular patterns of change identified by the changes in numbers of these local multiples indicates that changes in the distribution of 'local multiples' may act as a very useful indicator of the relative health of the local economy: of all the means used to analyse the data, this was the only one which provided any specific insight into the particularly local nature of the restructuring process, rather than emphasising the penetration of national/supra-national capital into the local landscape, as the use of chains as indicators of change invariably does. It must be recognised however that the utility of these sites as indicators of the state of the more local economy is highly dependent upon the size of the study area, with larger areas allowing for the identification

of a larger number of sites, and providing a truer picture of local change.

8.6: This thing called leisure

The role of leisure, in all its various forms, together with leisure based activities, has become increasingly important, even if the precise nature of the dynamics and articulations underlying this change are subject to debate (Urry, 1990; Rojek, 1995; Hughes, 1999). Identifying this transition in the landscape is relatively straightforward, albeit with the realisation that significant types of leisure and festive activities (i.e. festivals, place marketing, and so on) cannot be 'read' from Goad's landscapes. Thus they do not appear explicitly within the data, despite being some of the most significant factors shaping and reshaping the street and its environment.

The landscapes in question display considerable growth in the number of leisure related sites, with numbers slowly rising in the Princes Street Region, and rising more dramatically in the St. Giles Region. The number of leisure sites in the St. Giles Region has increased by almost 80% over the length of the study period, with consistent rates of growth averaging 5% every year. While we might have expected the St. Giles Region to contain high numbers of leisure sites at the start of the study period, as it contains the Royal Mile and a number of tourist services, in 1978 both Regions had broadly comparable numbers of leisure sites, with the relatively high concentrations of leisure sites along the Royal Mile counteracted by very low numbers of leisure sites in the remainder of the St. Giles Region.

Overall, there are three broad types of leisure change that are apparent within the dataset: the growth in the provision of leisure related goods and services (especially 'sporting' retailers and travel agents), the rise in tourism and leisure associated with the 'tourist-historic city', and the significant growth in numbers of pubs, restaurants and leisure facilities. Of the three, the latter is arguably the broadest and most prominent throughout the two study Regions. While the numbers of pubs in both study Regions has remained broadly static, the numbers of restaurants have risen considerably, by some 78% in the St. Giles Region and 28% in Princes Street. These levels of growth are however unremarkable when

compared with the growth in numbers of takeaway food providers: they have increased by 388% in St. Giles and by over 1000% in the Princes Street Region. Together, the increased numbers of restaurants and convenience food providers represent almost 50% of the total increase in leisure sites in the St. Giles Region, and just under 80% in the Princes Street Region.

This data provides a considerable context for analyses of the growth (and definitions) of 'leisure', especially of attempts to make cities more 'liveable' (Landry, Bianchini et al., 1995; Hughes, 1999). While it indicates considerable success in the increased provision of a variety of leisure services, it particularly questions the conflation of leisure and tourism, as it is clear that the combination of pubs, restaurants and convenience food providers represent the dominant forms of leisure provision across the whole of the study Regions: in the St. Giles Region these sites represent over 50% of all leisure facilities in all but three Areas, two of which are along the Royal Mile and therefore have significant concentrations of tourist sites and associated facilities.

Zukin has argued at great length (1988; 1990; 1995) that the restructuring of urban spaces is related to the exploitation of what she has termed 'real cultural capital'. Similarly, Harvey has focused on the re-emphasis of 'symbolic capital' inherent within the wider transitions characterised on the one hand by gentrification, and on the other by civic urban revitalisation strategies (1987; 1989a; 1989b). Analysis of the changes in leisure in the St. Giles Region, specifically around the Royal Mile/High Street strongly supports the links between change, development and the wider 'heritage industry' (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990), with the significant and increasing concentration of leisure sites in these Areas. Perhaps even more clear is the emergence of substantial concentrations of particular forms of leisure sites in these Areas: we have seen the emergence of noticeable concentrations of restaurants, pubs and convenience food providers in these Areas, to the point where these latter site uses represent over 20% of all uses in six Areas in 1994, compared to only one in 1978. In comparison, there were no Areas in all of the Princes Street Region with similar concentrations of both leisure in general and pubs and restaurants in particular. This may however be a result of difficulties such uses may have in competing for

space in the Princes Street Region with the significant numbers of chains and multiples that dominate that Region. In comparison with the St. Giles Region, Princes Street clearly shows what we might describe as a 'high-street' leisure transition, with marked increases in numbers of very particular types of leisure uses in the street. We have seen the significant increases in numbers of convenience food providers and restaurants throughout both study Regions, and to this shift is added increases in the numbers of travel agents and shops selling 'sports/outdoor' clothing and related equipment. The latter uses represent over 25% of all the leisure sites in the Princes Street Region, and if we exclude pubs, restaurants and takeaways from the number of leisure uses this grows to 75% of the remaining leisure sites. By comparison, travel agents and sports stores represent only 20% of the corresponding leisure facilities in St. Giles, which also emphasises the much wider range of leisure uses and facilities that exist there.

The increasing importance of sites providing leisure-related services (as opposed to the leisure inherent in 'funshopping' - Jansen, 1989) as a component of the street is clear, although markedly different patterns of change can be clearly identified within the dataset. While there has been much debate about the 'Disneyfication' of the city, it is clear that the experience of the street is different from that of the mall, the festival marketplace, or any other strongly bounded and centrally controlled leisure feature/attraction (Crawford, 1992). The leisure facilities of the 'regular' street are dominated by pubs, restaurants, takeaways and travel agents: arguably signs of the importance of mass produced leisure, but simultaneously and markedly different from the artfully produced leisure of the reviving city centre and its emphases on place marketing and cultural capitalism. Arguably, in this case a substantial difference between the Royal Mile and that of other revival centres, such as South Street Seaport in New York, or Fauneil Hall in Boston (Boyer, 1992), is that the area is still an integral part of a wider, functioning, city: it has not become a museum, or a sanitised attraction*. The considerable concentration of institutional services and offices in the area, combined with significant numbers of local residents, helps

* The continuing emphasis upon increasing the size of the resident population around the Royal Mile is in part an effort to preserve it as a 'working street'.

preserve the Royal Mile as a seamless part of the working city, rather than a reconstituted 'Main Street' (Warren, 1994; Francaviglia, 1996).

8.7: Further work

There are two broad themes which this thesis indicates merit further attention: the first suggests means to further our understanding of the Goad data and the role it plays in envisioning the street and its change, while the second suggests extensions to the current work.

There is little material available to allow us to check the accuracy of the Goad data, both in terms of the site details, and more importantly in the picture of the street that they provide. With annual data collection, it is clear that there may be substantial amounts of change which go un-identified within the Goad material, in particular the low levels of site modification (renovations etc.) that were identified by Goad when compared with the number of occupant and use changes Goad identifies. In particular, this relatively infrequent data collection ensures that it is difficult to identify precisely the role vacant sites play in the street, as we have little indication both how long sites are vacant, and how much of the total amount of site change involves vacancies aside from those identified at the time of the ground surveys. To accomplish this, it is suggested that a series of ground surveys similar to Goads be done at much more frequent intervals, arguably monthly, for at least two years, which should provide enough data to allow comparisons with three sets of Goad material. This would allow us to comment far more authoritatively about the accuracy of the Goad material, and would provide a basis for analysis of the differences between rates of change calculated from the Goad data and that calculated from more frequent surveys. It would also provide an opportunity to study the role of vacancies in the landscape in much more detail by identifying vacancies missed by annual data collection. This would also allow a more nuanced analysis of the role of vacancies as transitional elements in the process of site change, and would allow the length of time sites were vacant to be accurately determined. We have identified that the Goad material infers substantial levels of site change (both in terms of occupants and boundaries) without explicitly identifying the changes that happen between surveys: a more frequent survey would provide a suitable and straightforward

opportunity to identify much more of the street's renovation and reconstruction.

There are wider questions the research raises which should be followed up in subsequent studies. Of all the results, perhaps the most surprising was the indication that the rate of change in both Regions was broadly constant over the entire length of the study, with noticeable increases correlating to local site redevelopment rather than external economic events, including the downturns of the 1980s. Because of this, there is a significant case arguing for the extension of this particular study to cover the remaining years of the 1990s, in an attempt to determine whether the cyclical swings in the economy can be easily detected within the Goad material.

The research also indicated that tracking the numbers and changes in local multiples seemed to provide considerable insights into the state of the local economy in the two study Regions. Extending this by adding material from any of the additional Regions within Edinburgh would help to give a broader and substantially more complete picture of the role of these sites. In addition, expanding upon the existing dataset would allow us to isolate the impact the size of the sample set has had upon these very contextual analyses.

While this research has emphasised the importance of detailed local research into the changing nature of the street, it does provide an insight into only two relatively small if important Regions of central Edinburgh. As such, since it has been clearly shown that it is possible to transcribe large amounts of Goad data and systematically analyse it, there is considerable scope for the wider usage of this material as a basis for broader overviews of the specificities of local change. In particular, the material could be used to provide wider comparisons of the types of changes seen within cities themselves, as here in Edinburgh, and with other cities, both within and outwith Scotland. While the Goad material is not without its flaws, it does provide a valuable and so far under-utilised resource for studies of recent urban change.

8.8: Reconstructing the Street

The street is important: it provides a framework for much of the urban experience. It has been an afterthought in much geographic thought, only

recently revived but still often thought of as merely the site of buildings and activities (consumption, spectacle, flânerie) which are in themselves far more interesting to academics than their built context. It represents a centre of lived experience, the point where many of the dominant processes shaping society are articulated in our neighbourhoods. The street is 'our' landscape, not that of the postmodern trope that is Disneyland, or a pale reflection of the 'world cities' of Los Angeles and London, or the schizophrenic dinosaur that is the West Edmonton Mall. The street is not as easy to study as some of its competitors. It is not physically bounded, and is the site of struggle between numerous competing economic and political forces, unlike the mall developer or the work of unitary development authorities. In a world where 'main street' has been marginalised if not abandoned, and replaced by Disney's Main Street USA, the street no longer has the iconic and cultural status of its competitors. While the mall may be a microcosm of 'modern' American society, with its monopolisation of space and place, dominated by chains, suspended in artificially crafted and fantasy environments, it does not follow that the mall is the archetype that defines all others. The street will always represent the locus of the European urban experience

Not only is the street important, it is also dynamic and, perhaps most importantly, has its own (local) history. This is an integral part of the street's continued existence, and provides us with a means to study change. Although rhetorics of change and visions of the street and its future are important parts of wider discourses of the street, the need to ground the street in its own local history is an important counterweight to theoretical flights of fancy. This reinforces the need to study the local, and to recognise that change is not merely 'the shock of the new', but a more nuanced, transitional, shifting and ceaselessly reforming and recreating process. It is the dynamics of change and stability that give the street its place, that represent the reality of its modern existence.

These local histories of change and stability question the wider rhetorics of change and transition, by highlighting both the unique local patterns of transition and identifying the difficulty in mapping theory onto the recalcitrant streetscapes of the modern city.

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Appendix 1: Data Transcription: Hardware and software Issues

1.1: Overview

Appendix 1, in conjunction with Appendices 2-4, provides a detailed description of the data-entry process that was developed and used for this thesis. This Appendix provides an introduction to the software and technological issues that underpin the methodology that was used, and provides a context for some of the more arcane technical discussions in Appendices 2 and 3.

Data entry was completed in two separate stages, as it quickly became apparent that data entry logically fell into two different processes. The first was the collection of the site data itself, i.e. the entry of the geographical data of each site, and the identification of these polygons with street and street numbers. Appendix 2 provides a detailed explanation of the process used to enter the detailed site/building information that is the foundation of the dataset. The second phase was the entry of occupant and use data, which had to be allocated to the appropriate geographical feature. Appendix 3 explains how the site information was then used as the basis for developing a complex entry methodology to accurately input each site's occupant and use data. Appendix 4 provides a more technical summary of all the data-entry process and includes the core software code of the numerous applications that were used on the transcription process.

1.2: Introduction

Given the considerable amount of information in the two sets of Goad maps, it was obvious that to proceed with analysis the information they contained would have to be transcribed into a database of some description. The mechanisms for doing this, however, was rather less straightforward. Conventionally, map data is entered into a GIS via a process of digitising, in which discrete geographical areas are entered into a database, to which the area information is gathered and linked. Given that there were 28 maps to begin with, digitising each was a substantial task, complicated by their exceptionally poor legibility, and the fact that each suffered from considerable amounts of

what was determined to be asymmetric optical distortion. In any case, conventional methods would not allow for the re-use of area/site information that appeared regularly on numerous maps. Entry of site data directly into the database was an approach that was considered, but it was rejected as being difficult to monitor, given the difficulties inherent in ensuring that all site data was entered, that this data was complete, accurately attached to the correct site and so on.

As a result of these issues, a different approach was devised. A visual approach was determined to be the most logical way of entering data, ideally with site information being visually linked to a graphical representation of the site within its street context. This was implemented via a combination of three programs, MapInfo, a GIS program that provided the graphical context of the site, a FileMaker database that held the site information, and a FaceSpan application that communicated between the two programs.

1.2.1: Hardware issues

It quickly became apparent to me that the entry of site, occupant and use data for all 34 Goad maps would represent a considerable amount of work that would require both considerably amounts of time and computing resources. Given the severe constraints placed upon access by Ph.D. students to the limited facilities of the Department of Geography at the time the research started, I purchased a Apple Macintosh Centris 650. While providing me with unlimited access to a machine, this did eventually place constraints upon the data entry process due a) to the relative lack of affordable GIS software solutions for the platform, and b) the historically weak supply of powerful database programs (with access to features like ODBC and SQL), although neither of these issues eventually proved to be insurmountable. Conversely, this decision gave me greater access to graphical and analysis programs than would have been possible with a conventional PC.

Entry of site data was on a Macintosh Centris 650, entry of site and use data was on a Power Macintosh 9500/120. Data processing and analysis was done on the latter machine, albeit in several different processor/hardware configurations.

1.2.2: Software Issues

In an ideal world the data would either already exist electronically, or a pre-existing system could be adapted to enable rapid data transcription. As neither of these cases applied, the data-entry process revolved around a series of custom programs that were written to allow a GIS program (MapInfo) and a database program (FileMaker) to interact and communicate with each other in specific, targeted ways to streamline the entry process.

It was quickly realised that none of the software packages that were available provided an off the shelf/turnkey solution to the data-entry issues. As a result, it was necessary to develop a suite of programs that allowed the main programs to work together. This would allow the development of a system that relied upon the strengths of each program, facilitated rapid and accurate transcription, and was relatively straightforward to use.

The approach that was used relied upon the Inter-Application Communication (IAC)routines built into the MacOS, which allow programs to communicate with each other, and exchange data, commands and results.

1.3: Inter-Application Communication (IAC)

Inter-Application Communication in the MacOS is implemented at the most basic level by the Open Scripting Architecture (OSA), a series of system level components that provide a standardised mechanism to allow programs to interact with the use of AppleEvents, which are messages programs can send to each other (and themselves) containing data and commands*.

These AppleEvents interact within each program with the program's Apple Event Object Model (AEOM), a programming construct which describes both what data the program can access and manipulate when instructed to do so by the appropriate AppleEvents, and what commands each program can be ordered to perform when similarly instructed. In this way, programs that support the Object Model allow other programs to access the contents of an application's

* The process of issuing OSA messages to another application on the MacOS platform is commonly referred to as Scripting.

environment, manipulate its data and issue it instructions.

Theoretically, the degree of control other applications and users may exert over a program is limited only by the commands a programmer is willing to implement within the program, either through developing an Object Model that can be controlled directly via an OSA compliant scripting language, by providing an internal programming language which can be tapped to perform particular functions, or by some combination of the two approaches.

The data-entry solutions that were developed were fundamentally reliant upon these technologies. As neither the GIS or the database programs that were used (MapInfo and FileMaker) provided exactly the functionality that was needed for this thesis' specific data-entry requirements, it was necessary to develop alternative programs to enhance and extend their functionality. As both Filemaker and (to a somewhat lesser degree) MapInfo are constrained in how they allow other applications to communicate with them and in how they may communicate with other programs, it was necessary to write a third application in FaceSpan to marshal IAC between the programs and to allow the development of a customised solution. By developing this approach and using this technology, it was possible to create a data-entry solution that combined the graphical interface of a GIS program with the power of a sophisticated external database in a solution that ensured a high degree of accuracy and consistency in all stages of the data-entry process.

1.4: Software that was used

1.4.1: GIS software: MapInfo

The selection of an appropriate GIS package was fairly straightforward. It was necessary to identify a package that was well supported, had some degree of OSA scriptability, an internal scripting language, and the ability to support large-scale file manipulation and would allow digitising directly into the GIS program. Initially, Atlas Map was used but it quickly became obvious that it was totally unsuitable, as it lacked many of the necessary features. It was felt that while ArcView provided many of the desired features, it had poor OSA connectivity, had no digitising features (although the department facilities could

be used) and required more powerful computer hardware than was available at the time for acceptable performance. Other available Macintosh GIS packages were felt to be too expensive. Thus MapInfo and MapBasic (MapInfo's programming language) were selected from a somewhat constrained list of options.

While it is possible to externally control MapInfo via OSA commands, this is limited to extracting information on what objects/items are currently selected, basic data manipulation and the running of simple MapBasic scripts. The MapInfo package itself does not provide the user with the ability to customise the environment or to allow any sort of message handling, communication with other programs or detection of user changes within the program (recognising when the user changes selections, for instance). To add this functionality required the purchase of a separate program, MapBasic.

1.4.2: GIS software: MapBasic

MapBasic is a separate software package produced and sold by MapInfo that allows users to write and compile programs that can be run within the MapInfo program, and hence to extend the built-in functionality of MapInfo and to allow a high degree of customisation and automation within the MapInfo environment. In addition, MapBasic allows the user to monitor MapInfo's internal event messaging system, which allows MapBasic to recognise user actions by monitoring changing selections, user input, and so on. While MapInfo itself provides little in the way of built-in IAC support beyond the basic OSA commands (get/set/count data etc.), MapBasic programs can be written to allow limited forms of IAC communication which not only gives access to all aspects of the MapInfo program environment via MapBasic applications, but also allows the development of any form of IAC/OSA messaging that the programmer desires. This OSA communication is implemented through events that are sent to a MapBasic application which in this case acts as a shell and interprets and processes commands before driving MapInfo. This gives the user the ability to minutely control both the MapInfo application and to monitor every action taken by the user and act/react appropriately.

It was therefore necessary to purchase MapBasic if we were to produce any form of integrated solution to the data entry issues the thesis faced. With MapBasic, it was possible to write custom programs that manipulated specific specified records, reacted appropriately to user input and communicated with other programs by both sending and receiving data, and generally streamlining the process of data-entry, ensuring a high level of accuracy and ensuring consistency in the data entry process.

In practice, this unfortunately did not turn out to be as straightforward as hoped. MapBasic as currently designed provides limited debugging options, did not support more powerful external programmer's editors, and often produced all-but incomprehensible compilation errors which hampered development. Given that MapBasic produces compiled programs rather than an interpreted script, debugging can often degenerate into a slow and cumbersome loop of compile, link and run, error-check, change, compile, link, run etc..

1.4.3: Database software: FileMaker

Historically speaking, the Macintosh software market has not provided anything approximating the range of databases available on most other computing platforms (Windows, UNIX etc.). As a result, the constraints on the availability of software meant that FileMaker was essentially the only database option available. Despite this, it was relatively easy to use, scriptable, and was able to develop relatively complex layouts quickly.

As is typical with scriptable MacOS applications, FileMaker provides a fairly complete implementation of the OSA object model and thus may be directed via other applications to perform a wide range of built-in commands and actions via OSA events, which includes the ability to externally trigger scripts written in FileMaker's internal scripting language. While the program provides extensive opportunity for remote control/interaction, the user is constrained both by the implementation of OSA within the application and by the functionality defined by the internal scripting language.

Initially, FileMaker version 2.1, a flat-file database, was used, and the database was converted to a relational database with the release of version 3 (after the

data-entry was complete), which allowed not only the creation of more complex databases but also ensured greater data integrity with the re-use of information through relational databases, which made repeated data-entry redundant and eliminated much of the opportunity for error and inconsistency during the development of the databases.

1.4.4: Integration software: FaceSpan

The easiest way to develop OSA solutions is through the use of the MacOS's built-in scripting language, AppleScript. AppleScript is an object-oriented interpreted language that was designed to mimic a readable English syntax as much as possible. AppleScript programs can be developed using the ScriptEditor program, which is included with the MacOS, but this does not provide any facility to build complex user interfaces, nor does it provide any sophisticated debugging tools. As a result, it was decided to use the FaceSpan program, which was designed as an RAID (Rapid Application Interface Design) OSA environment, allowing the relatively straightforward development of sophisticated user interface elements. FaceSpan uses AppleScript as its programming language to enable the development of complex programs that can interact with and control other applications.

Appendix 2: Transcribing Cartographic Information

2.1: Transcribing site information into MapInfo

In the set of maps provided by Goad were two original Goad maps (from November 1993 in both cases) and thirteen sets of facsimiles. These two original maps were digitised directly into MapInfo using a Wacom graphics tablet. Street addresses were then added in the GIS to the building outlines, and each site was given a unique index number. Occupant and usage data was not entered at this point.

Once one map was digitised, it was necessary to decide how to input and store the site information contained in the other thirteen maps. Rather than have fourteen sets of GIS files for each study Area, it was decided to add fourteen Boolean (true/false) values to each site record in the GIS, one for every year's data, which would then indicate whether each site was present on the Goad map in the corresponding survey year (Figure 1).

new_rm_5 Browser

Item	Number	Street	Jan78	Jul79	Jul80	Oct81	Oct82	Nov83	Nov84	Dec85
1	2	South Clerk St.	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
2	8	South Clerk St.	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
3	10	South Clerk St.	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
4		Hope Park Terr.	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
5	Queen's Hall	South Clerk St.	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
6	4	South Clerk St.	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
7	11	South Clerk St.	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
8	13	South Clerk St.	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
9	15	South Clerk St.	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
10	17-19	South Clerk St.	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
11	21	South Clerk St.	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
12	23	South Clerk St.	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	T

Figure 1: MapInfo Browser Window

2.2: Customising site data-entry routines

As site data entry proceeded, it quickly became clear that the built-in data inputting mechanisms within MapInfo were cumbersome and not appropriate to the scale of the task at hand, and offered scope for considerable errors in data input, given that the operator had to select both the correct table to update from

a list of all currently opened, and then also had to select the correct year to update (out of a list of 14), before entering the data, an action that could not be reversed in anything approaching a straightforward manner should a data-entry mistake be made.

To solve this problem a custom solution was written in MapBasic (the source code is included at the end of this section). The 'TruePad' program was designed to address these issues by providing a floating windoid containing a series of twenty eight icon buttons (two for every year) which the user could click to set the true/false flag for the selected sites for the year that was represented by the icon button that was clicked (Figure 2). To minimise error, a facility was built in to allow editing of a only one year at a time, to avoid confusion and the possible misallocation of sites to incorrect years (Figure 3).

Figure 2: MapInfo TruePad – all years selected

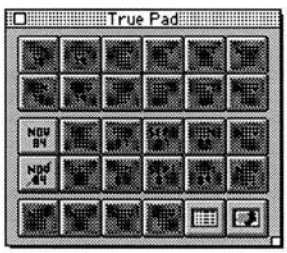

Figure 3: MapInfo TruePad – one year selected

Using this approach, the site data for the remaining thirteen sets of maps for each study Area was entered. Outlines for sites that were not on the original (1993) base maps were added by hand where necessary. As maps for 1991, 1992 and 1994 were not provided by Goad, copies were made of the 1993 map and these were checked against copies of the Goad maps that were held in the Edinburgh Room of the Central Library on George IV Bridge and any site changes were transcribed onto the paper copies and then entered into the GIS database. The entry of occupant and use data provided an opportunity to check the accuracy of all the site information that was entered and only two errors were discovered, which were corrected.

2.2.1: The TruePad Program

```
'*****************************************************************
'* TruePad.mb
'* This program installs a floating windoid to allow consistent and accurate entry of site data.
'*****************************************************************
Include "MAPBASIC.DEF"
Include "ICONS.DEF"

Declare Sub MAIN
Declare Sub UPDATE_ SITE_DATA
Declare Sub ABOUT_TRUEPAD
Declare Sub EXIT_TRUEPAD
Declare Sub PICK_EDIT_YEAR
Declare Sub SET_AVAILABLE_BUTTONS

Dim ReturnedVal as integer

'*****************************************************************
'* MAIN creates both the floating windoid and the associated menu items in MapInfo.
'*****************************************************************
Sub MAIN

  Create Menu "TruePad" as
  "About TruePads..." Calling ABOUT_TRUEPAD,
  "Unload TruePad" Calling EXIT_TRUEPAD

  Alter Menu "Tools" Add
  "(-",
  "TruePad" As "TruePad",
  "Select Years" calling PICK_EDIT_YEAR

  Create Buttonpad "True Pad" as
  pushbutton      icon 128 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 1  helpmsg "Sets Jan 78 to true."
  pushbutton      icon 130 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 2  helpmsg "Sets July 79 to true."
  pushbutton      icon 132 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 3  helpmsg "Sets Jul 80 to true."
  pushbutton      icon 134 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 4  helpmsg "Sets Oct 81 to true."
  pushbutton      icon 136 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 5  helpmsg "Sets Oct 82 to true."
  pushbutton      icon 138 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 6  helpmsg "Sets Nov 83 to true."
  pushbutton      icon 129 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 15helpmsg "Sets Jan 78 to false."
  pushbutton      icon 131 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 16helpmsg "Sets July 79 to false."
  pushbutton      icon 133 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 17helpmsg "Sets Jul 80 to false."
  pushbutton      icon 135 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 18helpmsg "Sets Oct 81 to false."
  pushbutton      icon 137 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 19helpmsg "Sets Oct 82 to false."
  pushbutton      icon 139 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 20helpmsg "Sets Nov 83 to false."
    separator
  pushbutton      icon 140 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 7  helpmsg "Sets Nov 84 to true."
  pushbutton      icon 142 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 8  helpmsg "Sets Dec 85 to true."
  pushbutton      icon 144 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 9  helpmsg "Sets Jan 87 to true."
  pushbutton      icon 146 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 10          helpmsg "Sets Sept 87 to true."

  pushbutton      icon 148 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 11helpmsg "Sets Jan 89 to true."
  pushbutton      icon 150 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 12helpmsg "Sets Nov 89 to true."
  pushbutton      icon 141 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 21helpmsg "Sets Nov 84 to false."
  pushbutton      icon 143 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 22helpmsg "Sets Dec 85 to false."
  pushbutton      icon 145 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 23helpmsg "Sets Jan 87 to false."
  pushbutton      icon 147 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 24helpmsg "Sets Sept 87 to false."
  pushbutton      icon 149 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 25helpmsg "Sets Jan 89 to false."
  pushbutton      icon 151 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 26helpmsg "Sets Nov 89 to false."
    separator
  pushbutton      icon 152 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 13helpmsg "Sets Nov 90 to true."
  pushbutton      icon 158 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 31helpmsg "Sets Nov 91 to true."
  pushbutton      icon 159 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 32helpmsg "Sets Nov 92 to true."
  pushbutton      icon 154 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 14helpmsg "Sets Nov 93 to true."
  pushbutton      icon 160 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 33helpmsg "Sets Nov 94 to true."
  pushbutton      icon 156 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 29helpmsg "Browses selection"
  pushbutton      icon 153 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 27helpmsg "Sets Nov 90 to false."
  pushbutton      icon 161 File "" calling UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 34helpmsg "Sets Nov 91 to false."
```

```
   pushbutton        icon 162 File "" calling  UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 35helpmsg "Sets Nov 92 to false."
   pushbutton        icon 155 File "" calling  UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 28helpmsg "Sets Nov 93 to false."
   pushbutton        icon 163 File "" calling  UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 36helpmsg "Sets Nov 94 to false."
   pushbutton        icon 157 File "" calling  UPDATE_ SITE_DATA id 30helpmsg "Maps selection."

   width 6
   position (22.5,7.5) units "cm"
   hide

   alter buttonpad "True Pad" width 6
   alter buttonpad "True Pad" show
End Sub

'*****************************************************************
'* PICK_EDIT_YEAR displays a dialogue box so the user can select a year to edit from a list of all years .
'*****************************************************************
Sub PICK_EDIT_YEAR
   dialog
      title "Select Years for Editing"
      Control Statictext
         Title "Pick the year(s) whose data " Position 15,8
      Control Statictext
         Title "you wish to manipulate" Position 15,15
      Control OKButton          position 115,38
      Control CancelButton      position 75,38
      Control PopupMenu
         Title "Select All;(-;Jan 78;July 79;Jul 80;Oct 81;Oct 82;Nov 83;Nov 84;Dec 85;Jan 87;Sept 87;Jan 89;Nov
89;Nov 90;Nov 91;Nov 92;Nov 93;Nov 94"
         ID 3 into ReturnedVal  position 15,30

   If CommandInfo(CMD_INFO_DLG_OK) Then
      Call SET_AVAILABLE_BUTTONS
   End If

End Sub

'*****************************************************************
'* SET_AVAILABLE_BUTTONS updates the icons on the windoid to allow/disallow editing of particular years.
'*****************************************************************
Sub SET_AVAILABLE_BUTTONS
If ReturnedVal = 1 Then
   alter button UPDATE_ SITE_DATA enable
Else
   alter button UPDATE_ SITE_DATA disable
   alter button id 29 enable
   alter button id 30 enable

   Do Case ReturnedVal
      Case 3
         alter button id 1 enable
         alter button id 15 enable
      Case 4
         alter button id 2 enable
         alter button id 16 enable
      Case 5
         alter button id 3 enable
         alter button id 17 enable
      Case 6
         alter button id 4 enable
         alter button id 18 enable
      Case 7
         alter button id 5 enable
         alter button id 19 enable
      Case 8
         alter button id 6 enable
         alter button id 20 enable
      Case 9
         alter button id 7 enable
         alter button id 21 enable
```

```
      Case 10
        alter button id 8 enable
        alter button id 22 enable
      Case 11
        alter button id 9 enable
        alter button id 23 enable
      Case 12
        alter button id 10 enable
        alter button id 24 enable
      Case 13
        alter button id 11 enable
        alter button id 25 enable
      Case 14
        alter button id 12 enable
        alter button id 26 enable
      Case 15
        alter button id 13 enable
        alter button id 27 enable
      Case 16
        alter button id 31 enable
        alter button id 34 enable
      Case 17
        alter button id 14 enable
        alter button id 35 enable
      Case 18
        alter button id 32 enable
        alter button id 28 enable
      Case 19
        alter button id 33 enable
        alter button id 36 enable
    End Case
End If

End Sub

'*****************************************************************
'* UPDATE_SITE_DATA updates the true/false data for each site.
'*****************************************************************
Sub BUTTON_PROMPT
    Dim temp as integer
    temp= commandinfo(CMD_INFO_TOOLBTN)

      Do Case temp
      Case 1
        Update Selection Set Jan78 = "T"
      Case 2
        Update Selection Set Jul79 = "T"
      Case 3
        Update Selection Set Jul80 = "T"
      Case 4
        Update Selection Set Oct81 = "T"
      Case 5
        Update Selection Set Oct82 = "T"
      Case 6
        Update Selection Set Nov83 = "T"
      Case 7
        Update Selection Set Nov84 = "T"
      Case 8
        Update Selection Set Dec85 = "T"
      Case 9
        Update Selection Set Jan87 = "T"
      Case 10
        Update Selection Set Sept87 = "T"
      Case 11
        Update Selection Set Jan89 = "T"
      Case 12
        Update Selection Set Nov89 = "T"
      Case 13
        Update Selection Set Nov90 = "T"
```

```
      Case 14
        Update Selection Set Nov93 = "T"
      Case 15
        Update Selection Set Jan78 = "F"
      Case 16
        Update Selection Set Jul79 = "F"
      Case 17
        Update Selection Set Jul80 = "F"
      Case 18
        Update Selection Set Oct81 = "F"
      Case 19
        Update Selection Set Oct82 = "F"
      Case 20
        Update Selection Set Nov83 = "F"
      Case 21
        Update Selection Set Nov84 = "F"
      Case 22
        Update Selection Set Dec85 = "F"
      Case 23
        Update Selection Set Jan87 = "F"
      Case 24
        Update Selection Set Sept87  = "F"
      Case 25
        Update Selection Set Jan89 = "F"
      Case 26
        Update Selection Set Nov89 = "F"
      Case 27
        Update Selection Set Nov90 = "F"
      Case 28
        Update Selection Set Nov93 = "F"
      Case 29
        Browse * From Selection
      Case 30
        Map From Selection
      Case 31
        Update Selection Set Nov91 = "T"
      Case 32
        Update Selection Set Nov92 = "T"
      Case 33
        Update Selection Set Nov94 = "T"
      Case 34
        Update Selection Set Nov91 = "F"
      Case 35
        Update Selection Set Nov92 = "F"
      Case 36
        Update Selection Set Nov94 = "F"
      End Case
End Sub

'****************************************************************
'* ABOUT_TRUEPAD displays a dialog box giving information about this MapBasic program.
'****************************************************************
Sub ABOUT_TRUEPAD
   Dialog
    Title "About TruePads..."
    Control StaticText  Title  "This application provides"  Position 10, 10
    Control StaticText  Title  "a Button Pad to quickly "  Position 10, 18
    Control StaticText  Title  "set logical values."  Position 10, 26

    Control Button
      Title "Auto-Load..."
     Position 10, 36

   Control OKButton    Title  "OK"
     Position 120, 52
End Sub

'****************************************************************
'* EXIT_TRUEPAD removes the floating windoid and exits the MapBasic application.
```

```
'*****************************************************************
Sub EXIT_TRUEPAD
   Alter Buttonpad "True Pad" destroy
 End Program
End Sub

'*****************************************************************
```

Appendix 3: Transcribing Occupant and Usage Information

3.1: Software issues

It was quickly realised that entering occupant and use information would not be a straightforward exercise. As with the site data, it was felt that some form of graphical input via the GIS interface was the most logical method to develop, as this would allow the accurate targeting of sites and monitoring the status of data entry as it progressed via mapping the data as it was entered.

As it had become obvious during entry of the site data that MapInfo's data input facilities were heavily biased towards assigning values to large numbers of records, rather than unique values to large numbers of unique records, it was realised from the beginning that entering the occupant and use data would require some form of customised data-entry system. As was earlier described, it is possible to install custom event-trapping solutions within MapInfo using applications written in MapBasic. The initial approach relied upon a simple MapBasic program to create a dialogue box prompting the user to enter the occupant and use data whenever the user changed site selection, and this approach was used to enter the first year's worth of data into MapInfo.

Having entered one year's data in the database, it was thought that the preferred approach would be to develop an application that would display a window/complex dialogue when a site was selected that contained every year's occupant and use data for the selected site, and which would allow the user to copy entries from one year to another, in order to maximise consistency in the data-entry process. It became clear, however, that implementing such a solution within MapInfo via a MapBasic program would not be easy, primarily because of the difficulties in designing and implementing an appropriate user interface for data-entry. MapBasic does not include or support any form of resource editors which could be used to rapidly prototype a user interface, and as a result the programmer has to textually describe the types of components that are needed to construct the interface, together with their positioning, within the MapBasic program, before moving on to implementing any sort of functionality within the

data-display window itself.

It was quickly realised that this approach was going to be both complex and extremely time-consuming if we were to write by hand an appropriate program. As a result, we began to look for alternative solutions. In a more ideal world, MapInfo would include comprehensive support for the OSA Object Model, and we would be able to easily extract data that could be used in a user-interface that had been designed in a more appropriate program. This would still be difficult to implement elegantly, however, given that it is unheard of for current implementations of the Object Model to indicate to other programs whenever their environment changes, e.g. when a user selects a different record, cell, page and so on. As a result, it was decided to build a hybrid solution.

Given that MapBasic provided both the ability to monitor user interactions and to perform rudimentary messaging and communications with other OSA aware applications, it was decided to attempt to write a MapBasic program that would communicate with a FaceSpan application that would provide a more user friendly and customisable interface than was possible solely within MapInfo/MapBasic.

As development of these programs progressed, it became clear that moving information back and forth between MapInfo and FaceSpan was not particularly efficient, and could require considerable amounts of MapBasic programming. Once it became clear through experimentation that it would in fact be possible to send information both to and from MapInfo, it was decided to attempt to bypass the difficulties of designing a database within MapInfo by using FileMaker as an external database and building some form of connectivity between the two.

3.2: Bridging MapInfo and FileMaker

It became clear that it would be difficult to connect MapInfo and FileMaker directly, given that MapInfo does not natively provide the ability to send OSA messages to any other application, and the Object Model implemented within FileMaker works only with requests to perform particular actions, and is not able to respond to custom events. As we had already developed a means to

communicate between MapInfo and FaceSpan, it was decided to build upon this and have FaceSpan receive requests from MapInfo and the parse these into a format understood by FileMaker.*

As a result, a three part solution was developed. The first was a MapBasic program (see 4.2:The SEND_EVENT Program), that detected when the user selected a new site, and sent the index number of the site to a FaceSpan application. This application (see 4.3: The FM/MI Tools Program) then asked FileMaker to locate the appropriate site record. In addition, this program enabled a floating window, visible while using all three applications, to provide an alternative user-interface during data entry (see Figure 4). A large number of scripts† and layouts were then written within a complex FileMaker database to maximise consistent data-entry and provide a variety of facilities to the user (see Figure 5).

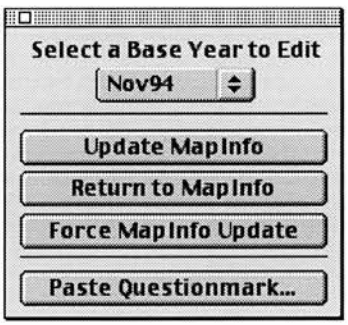

Figure 4: Floating FaceSpan window

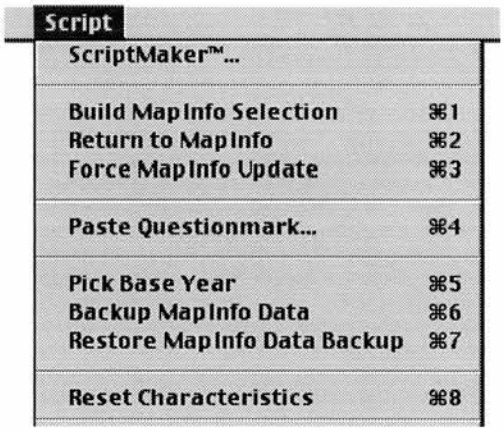

Figure 5: Filemaker script menu

* An alternative solution would have involved installing a number of programming utilities at a system level and effectively reverse-engineering sample OSA messages to FileMaker, and attempting to implement the results within a MapBasic program. This would have removed the need for an intermediary application, but would have been far more complex and time-consuming to implement.

† Specific details of the scripts used in FileMaker have not been included as it is not possible to easily extract this information from FileMaker. (Scripts can only be 'exported' to a printer, and the database that was used contains more than 50.)

3.3: Transcribing occupant and use information.

When the user has activated all the necessary programs (MapInfo, FaceSpan, FileMaker), data entry is ready to begin. A map for the year to be edited was generated, and then a coloured thematic (shaded) map was created using each site's **characteristics** value*. The characteristics value was used during data entry to show the four permutations of occupant and use data that were contained in the matching site record in FileMaker:

Value	Meaning
0	No occupant or use data exists.
1	Occupant only
2	Use only
3	Occupant and use data exists.

Table 1: Characteristics Values

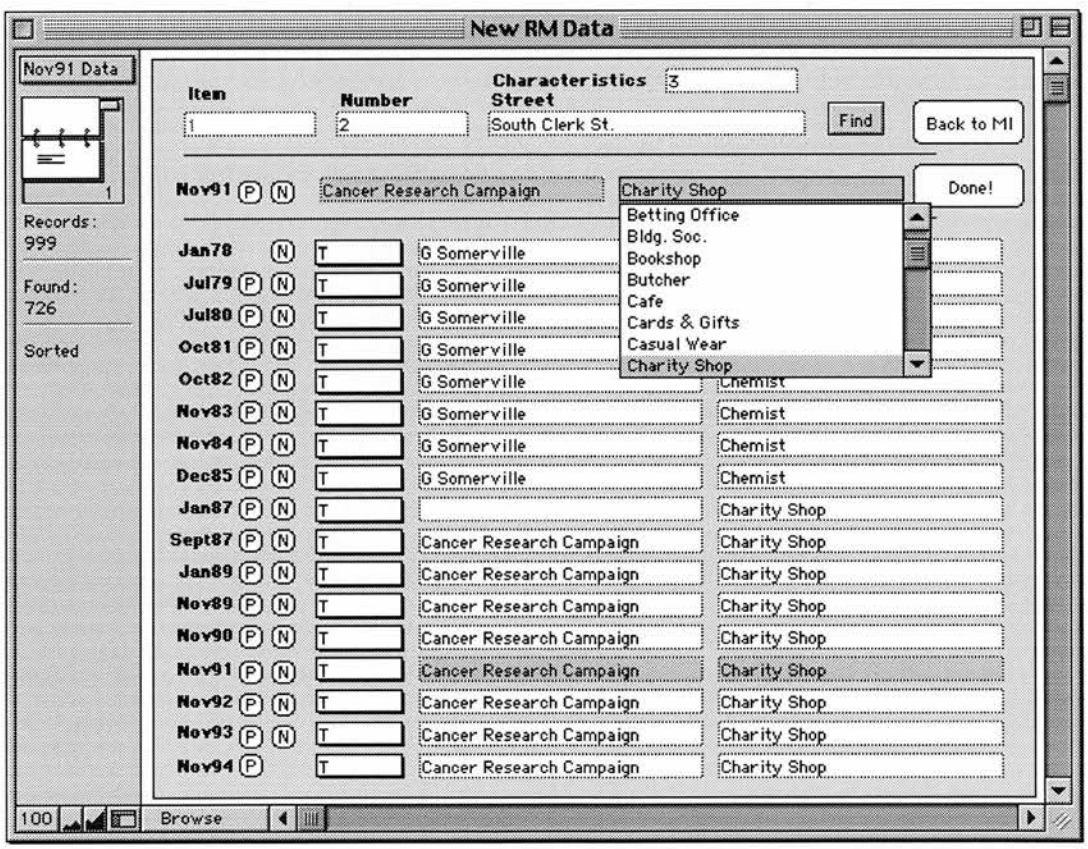

Figure 6: Filemaker St. Giles Browser window

* In these cases, the Characteristics value is determined by whether the appropriate fields in the database actually contain **text**, rather than complete records. As a result, a convention was used that the string "(????)" would indicate that the data might be incomplete or otherwise problematic.

When the user selected a site, the MapBasic program passes the index number of the site to the FaceSpan application, which then opens the correct record in the FileMaker database (see Figure 6). This database layout shows all the information that has been entered for a site, including what years it exists, and provides the user with the ability to invoke scripts that exactly copy data from other years, avoiding typographical errors. To maintain consistency, a value list (a pop-up menu containing a user-definable list of values) was added to maintain consistency in the entry of usage information (Figure 7). Initially, this list was the primary use values identified by a brief visual survey of the Goad maps, however this was extended to eventually include a list of 68 uses (these are listed in Appendix 6). Given the variation within Goad's classifications, it was felt this was the best method to ensure consistency across the seventeen years of maps.

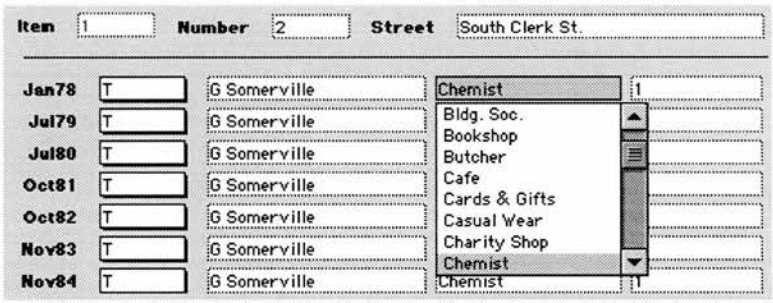

Figure 7: Ensuring consistent data entry in FileMaker with value lists

Once data entry was complete, the user selected a button in the FileMaker layout and a FileMaker script alerted the FaceSpan application that data entry was finished. The FaceSpan application then checked the occupant and use information that had been entered and generated a characteristics value, which was passed to MapInfo which updated the map accordingly (see Table 1: Characteristics Values).

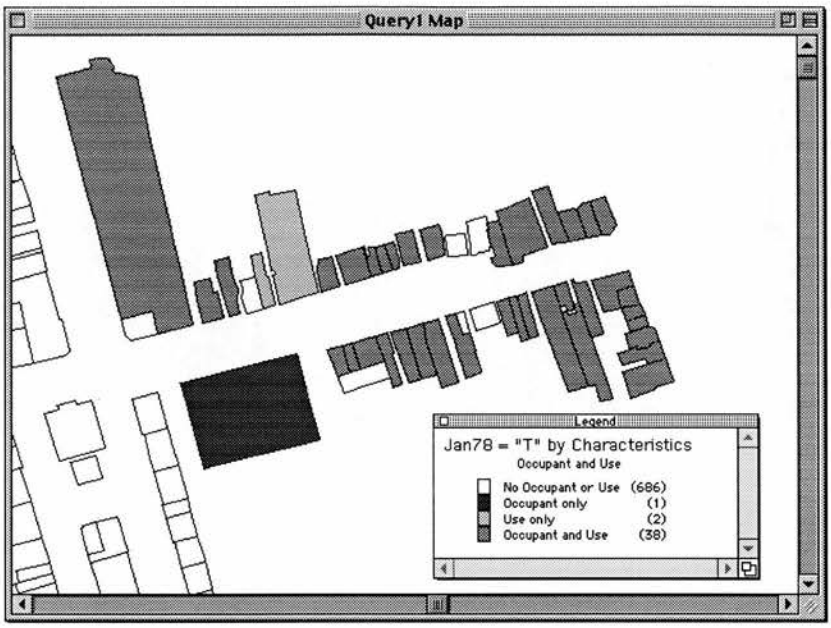

Figure 8: Data entry via MapInfo.

MapInfo would then update the map legend to give a visual indication of what kind of data was now associated with the selected site. This process would then be repeated until the user had completed data entry.

Appendix 4: Occupant and use data entry programs

4.1: Data-entry methodology

The data entry process is summarised below.

User action	Program response
User runs FaceSpan application	FaceSpan prompts the user for the site year to edit, opens FileMaker (if necessary), and tells FileMaker to move to the appropriate database layout for year to edit.
User generates a site map for the appropriate year, and then generates at thematic map of the each site's Characteristics.	
User activates MapBasic application	MapBasic application prompts the user for the external application (the FaceSpan application) to communicate with, and installs the SELCHANGEDHANDLER routine to monitor user actions.
User makes a selection in the site map	MapBasic checks if a single site is selected, and if so sends a message to FaceSpan (SEND_EVENT) with the site index number.
	FaceSpan receives this data (MAPINFO_MESSAGE), converts it into a OSA-compliant message, and tells FileMaker to select the appropriate record, and activates FileMaker (i.e. makes it the front window/application).
User enters occupant/use data.	
User finishes data entry in FileMaker, tells it to return to MapInfo.	FileMaker tells FaceSpan that the user has finished data-entry (CHECK_CHARACTERISTICS). FaceSpan gets the data from the FileMaker record, and checks if the user has entered both occupant and use data.
	FaceSpan tells MapInfo to re-map the selected site according to whether the user has given the site occupant and use data, one of the two, or no data at all (SET_CHARACTERISTICS).
	FaceSpan tells MapInfo to activate.

Table 2: Summary of occupant/use data entry methodology

4.2: The SEND_EVENT Program

```
'*****************************************************************
'* SEND_EVENT.mb
'* This program a series of event handlers to facilitate communication with FaceSpan and FileMaker.
'*****************************************************************

Include "EXTERNALS.INC"
Include "MAPBASIC.DEF"
Include "MENU.DEF"

Declare Sub MAIN
Declare Sub BUILD_SELECTION_ITEM_MESSAGE
Declare Sub INSTALL_AE_MENU
Declare Sub GET_TARGET_APPLICATION
Declare Sub SEND_EVENT
Declare Sub EXIT
Declare Sub SELCHANGEDHANDLER
Declare Sub TOGGLE_LINK_WITH_FM
```

```
Declare Sub REMOTEMSGHANDLER
Declare Sub GOTO_FILEMAKER
Declare Sub LABEL_BLANKS

Global CURRENTAPP as Logical
Global IAC_MESSAGE as string
Global CHAN_OK as integer

Global COMMUNICATE_WITH_FM as logical

'*****************************************************************
'* MAIN creates the appropriate menu items in MapInfo and asks the user to locate the program
'* to communicate with.
'*****************************************************************
Sub MAIN()
   CURRENTAPP = false
   Call INSTALL_AE_MENU()
   Call GET_TARGET_APPLICATION
End Sub

'*****************************************************************
'* INSTALL_AE_MENU tells MapInfo to create a set of menus for the MapBasic program.
'*****************************************************************
Sub INSTALL_AE_MENU

   Create Menu "AppleEvents" as
      "Select Target" calling GET_TARGET_APPLICATION,
      "!Send DoScript Event/M1" ID 100 calling TOGGLE_LINK_WITH_FM,
      "Activate Filemaker/M2" ID 101 calling GOTO_FILEMAKER,
      "(-",
      "Label Blank Records/M3" ID 101 calling LABEL_BLANKS,
      "(-",
      "Exit Program" calling EXIT

   Alter Menu "Tools" add "AppleEvents" as "AppleEvents"

End Sub

'*****************************************************************
'* BUILD_SELECTION_ITEM_MESSAGE creates an OSA message to send to an external program,
'*containing the index number of the currently selected site.
'*****************************************************************
Sub BUILD_SELECTION_ITEM_MESSAGE()
   Fetch first from selection
   IAC_MESSAGE = "MAPINFO_MESSAGE(" + Selection.Item + ")"
End Sub

'*****************************************************************
'* GOTO_FILEMAKER creates an OSA message to send to an external program,
'*telling it to activate FileMaker.
'*****************************************************************
Sub GOTO_FILEMAKER()
   IAC_MESSAGE = "GOTO_FILEMAKER()"
   Call SEND_EVENT
End Sub

'*****************************************************************
'* GET_TARGET_APPLICATION displays a dialog asking which running application the MapBasic
'* program should communicate with. I could not establish how to automatically communicate with
'*FaceSpan without this step, due to the weakness of the OSA mechanisms within MapInfo.
'*****************************************************************
Sub GET_TARGET_APPLICATION()
   CHAN_OK = AEInitiate(1)
   If CHAN_OK = 0 Then
      CURRENTAPP = true
   Else
      CURRENTAPP = false
   End If
End Sub
```

```
'*****************************************************************
'* SEND_EVENT sends an OSA message (created by BUILD_SELECTION_ITEM_MESSAGE or by
'* GOTO_FILEMAKER) to the FaceSpan application.
'*****************************************************************
Sub SEND_EVENT()
Dim sendOK as Integer

  If CURRENTAPP Then

    If IAC_MESSAGE <> "" Then
      Do Case chanOK
          Case 0
                '* If CHAN_OK = 0 then the channel was opened.
                '* AEExecute sends the Apple event
                SendOK = AEExecute(1,cmd)
                If sendOK = -9995 Then
                        Note "Error: Incorrect number of parameters passed to XCMD"
                End If
          Case 1
                Note "The user canceled the PPC browser."
          Case Else
                Note "A system error has occured"
          End Case
    End If
  Else
    Note "Select an application to send an Apple Event to by choosing Select Target from the AppleEvent menu."
  End If

End Sub

'*****************************************************************
'* SELCHANGEDHANDLER a standard MapInfo routine that is called whenever the user changes the
'* item/site that is currently selected. If only one site is selected, it calls
'* BUILD_SELECTION_ITEM_MESSAGE to create a request for the appropriate record in FileMaker and
'*then calls SEND_EVENT to ask FaceSpan to select this record in FileMaker.
'*****************************************************************
Sub SELCHANGEDHANDLER
  Dim sel_count as integer
  sel_count=SelectionInfo(Sel_INFO_NROWS)

  If (Occ_menu_sel) AND (sel_count = 1) Then
      Call BUILD_SELECTION_ITEM_MESSAGE
      Call SEND_EVENT
  End If

End Sub

'*****************************************************************
'* REMOTEMSGHANDLER responds to an external request to to update the Characteristics
'*value of the selection from FileMaker via FaceSpan. If the user had mapped the Characteristics value,
'*this would then show graphically whether both occupant and use data had been entered.
'*****************************************************************
Sub REMOTEMSGHANDLER
  Dim theMessage as string

  theMessage = CommandInfo( CMD_INFO_MSG )

  Do Case theMessage
    Case "note"
      note "message received!"
    Case "TOGGLE_LINK_WITH_FM"
      Call TOGGLE_LINK_WITH_FM
    Case "one"
      Update Selection set Characteristics = 0 where rowid = 1
    Case "two"
      Update Selection set Characteristics = 1 where rowid = 1
    Case "three"
      Update Selection set Characteristics = 2 where rowid = 1
```

```
    Case "four"
      Update Selection set Characteristics = 3 where rowid = 1
  End Case
End Sub

'*****************************************************************
'* TOGGLE_LINK_WITH_FM Enables/disables the link between MapInfo and FileMaker via FaceSpan.
'*Once the link was established, every time the user selected a site the appropriate record in
'*FileMaker was retrieved until the link bwtween the programs was turned off.
'*****************************************************************
Sub TOGGLE_LINK_WITH_FM
  If COMMUNICATE_WITH_FMThen
    COMMUNICATE_WITH_FM= False
    Alter Menu Item ID 100 Uncheck
    IAC_MESSAGE = "stop_link()"
    Call SEND_EVENT
  Else
    COMMUNICATE_WITH_FM= True
    Alter Menu Item ID 100 Check
    IAC_MESSAGE = "start_link()"
    Call SEND_EVENT
    Call SELCHANGEDHANDLER
  End If
End Sub

'*****************************************************************
'* LABEL_BLANKS tells MapInfo to add a label (usually street and street number) to every site
'*whose  Characteristics value is 0 (i.e. it has no occupant or use data associated with it).
'*This was used to help identify sites which had no occupant/use data.
'*****************************************************************
Sub LABEL_BLANKS()
  Dim map_win_id as integer
  Dim table_name as string

  map_win_id = FrontWindow()
  table_name = LayerInfo(map_win_id,2,LAYER_INFO_NAME)

  select * from table_name where Characteristics = 0 into Selection
  Autolabel Window map_win_id Selection Overlap On Duplicates On
  Run Menu Command M_ANALYZE_UNSELECT
End Sub

'*****************************************************************
'* EXIT quits the MapBasic application.
'*****************************************************************
Sub EXIT()
  End Program
End Sub
```

4.3: The FM/MI Tools Program

The following is the main code used by the FM/MI Tools application. Not all of the code can be reproduced as a small amount is attached to user-interface objects (i.e. the dialog which asks for the year to edit) and is thus not part of the main FaceSpan program.

```
property year_list : {"Jan78", "Jul79", "Jul80", "Oct81", "Oct82", "Nov83", "Nov84", "Dec85", "Jan87", "Sept87",
"Jan89", "Nov89", "Nov90", "Nov91", "Nov92", "Nov93", "Nov94"}
property year_edit : 17
property occ : ""
property use : ""
property New_record : {}
property record_index_number : 0
property characteristics : 0
property old_characteristics : 0
property Script_Lib : (storage item "Script_Lib") as script

property Table_list : ""
property front_table_list : ""
property table_num : 0
property target_table : ""
property activate_MI : true
property button_state : {true, true}
property disable_link : true
property direct_link : false

set Table_list to ""
set target_table to ""
set direct_link to false
set disable_link to true

on stop_link()
  set direct_link to false
end stop_link

on start_link()
  set direct_link to true
end start_link

--This routine uses a MapBasic program to find which tables are open in MapInfo, and the name of the
--fontmost one, which is required if we are to update the site's Characteristics value.
on get_table_list()
  tell application "MapInfo"
    try
      Do Script "Table_list" Using MapBasic Application "Find_selection"
      set my Table_list to (MapBasic Global "Table_list" of MapBasic Application "Find_selection")
      set my table_num to MapBasic Global "gtn_num_usable" of MapBasic Application "Find_selection"
      set my front_table_list to (MapBasic Global "Front_table_list" of MapBasic Application "Find_selection")
    on error
      display dialog "Oi! Running Find selection??"
    end try
  end tell

  if table_num > 0 then
    activate
    open window "Polygon Search"
  else
    tell application "FileMaker Pro" to display dialog "Sorry, no tables are open!"
  end if
end get_table_list

--This routine gets the selected record in FileMaker and selects it in MapInfo.
```

```
on find_target()
  tell application "FileMaker Pro"
    cell "Item" of current record returning  target
  end tell

  if (disable_link = true) and (direct_link = true) then
    tell application "MapInfo" to Do Script "occ_prompt"  Using MapBasic Application "SendEvent16"
  end if

  if target_table is not "" then
    set script_text to ("select * from " & target_table & " where Item = " & target & " into Selection")
  else
    get_table_list()
    set script_text to ("select * from " & target_table & " where Item = " & target & " into Selection")
  end if

  tell application "MapInfo"
    Do Script script_text
    Do Script "Run Menu Command 306"
    if (my activate_MI = true) then  activate
  end tell
end find_target

--This routine opens a dialog window which  prompts the user for the year to edit.
on open_picker()
  open window "Base Year Picker"
end open_picker

--This routine creates a windoid that 'floats' over FileMaker and allows mouse-driven interaction between
--FileMaker and MapInfo. (See Figure 5: Floating palette)
on Open_tools()
  open window "FM/MI Tools"
end Open_tools

--This routine brings the FileMaker appliaction to the front..
on Goto_Filemaker()
  tell application "FileMaker Pro" to activate
end Goto_Filemaker

--This routine waits for a message from MapInfo with the index number of the selected site.
--When called it then parses and sends a request for the appropriate record in FileMaker.
on MAPINFO_MESSAGE(SITE_INDEX_NUMBER)
  set record_index_number to (1 + (SITE_INDEX_NUMBER as integer))
  try
    tell application "FileMaker Pro"
      go to record (1 + (SITE_INDEX_NUMBER as integer))
      activate
      do script "selectfirstfield"

    end tell
  on error
  end try

end MAPINFO_MESSAGE

--This routine extracts the occupant and use data for the appropriate year from FileMaker and then
-- calculates the updated value of the selected site's Characteristics.
on check_characteristics()
  try
    tell application "FileMaker Pro"
      set occ to cell ("Occ" & (item year_edit of year_list as string)) of ¬
          record (record_index_number of me) of layout 0
      set use to cell ("Use" & (item year_edit of year_list as string)) of ¬
          record (record_index_number of me) of layout 0
    end tell

    if (occ of me is not "") and (use of me is not "") then
      set characteristics to 3
    else if (occ of me is "") and (use of me is "") then
```

```
        set characteristics to 0
      else if (occ of me is "") and (use of me is not "") then
        set characteristics to 2
      else
        set characteristics to 1
      end if

    on error
      beep 2
      tell application "FileMaker Pro"
        activate
      end tell
    end try
end check_characteristics

--This routine tells MapInfo to update the Characteristics value for the selected site.
on set_characteristics()
    tell application "MapInfo"
      try
        activate
        if (my characteristics = 3) then
            Do Script "Update Selection set Characteristics = 3 where rowid = 1"
        else if (my characteristics = 0) then
            Do Script "Update Selection set Characteristics = 0 where rowid = 1"
        else if (my characteristics = 2) then
            Do Script "Update Selection set Characteristics = 2 where rowid = 1"
        else
            Do Script "Update Selection set Characteristics = 1 where rowid = 1"
        end if
      on error
        beep
        activate
      end try
    end tell
end set_characteristics

--A set of routines to handle the application's menu items.
on chosen theObj
    copy name of window of theObj to theWindow
    copy name of theObj to theMenuItem
    copy title of menu of theObj to theMenu

    if index of menu of theObj = 1 then
      open window "Welcome"

    else if theMenu is "File" then
      if theMenuItem = "Quit" then
        quit

      else if theMenuItem is "Set Find Table" then
        get_table_list()

      else if theMenuItem is "Show Tools" then
        open window "FM/MI Tools"

      else if theMenuItem is "Pick Year" then
        open window "Base Year Picker"
      end if
    end if
end chosen
```

Appendix 5: Area Descriptions

Area	Location
0	A number of adjacent institutional buildings in the centre of the Old Town, from Cockburn Street south to Lothian Street, across the High Street, the Cowgate and Chambers Street. This includes numerous University buildings, three courts and associated legal buildings, the Royal Scottish Museum, and the City Council offices.
1	Both sides of the High Street from North Bridge in the west to St. Mary's Street in the east, including the eastern side of North Bridge, and the northern end of the western side of St. Mary's Street.
2	Both sides of Cockburn Street, Fleshmarket Close, both sides of Market Street from Waverly Bridge to North Bridge, the western side of North Bridge, and the North Bridge Arcade.
3	Both sides of South Bridge, from the High Street (Royal Mile) south to the bridge over the Cowgate, including Hunter Square, the Tron Church, and the west side of Blair Street.
4	Both sides of the High Street from George IV Bridge on the west to the Bridges on the east, but excluding institutional uses on the High Street. As a result this area has been bifurcated.
5	Both sides of the Lawnmarket, continuing one block west of George IV Bridge, and including the west side of Bank Street before the intersection with St. Giles Street.
6	Both sides of George IV Bridge, from Victoria Street south to Chambers St, and the west sides of Greyfriar's Place and part-way down the west side of Candlemaker Row.
7	Both sides of Forrest Road, from the junction from Teviot Place north to the intersection with Lindsay Place, both sides of Bristo Place, the north side of Teviot Place, and the north side of Lothian Street.
8	Both sides of South Bridge from the Cowgate south to Chambers Street, the north east corner of Chambers Street, and the east side of South Bridge south to Drummond Street
9	Block bounded by Nicolson Street to the east, Potterow to the west and South College Street to the north, including the north and west sections of Nicolson Square, and the east side of Nicholson Street from Drummond Street to the north to Hill Place to the south, including the south side of Drummond Street.
10	Block bounded by Nicolson Street to the West, Hill Place to the north, Richmond Place to the east and West Richmond Street to the south, and the west side of Nicolson Street between Nicolson Square and West Nicolson Street.
11	Both sides of Nicolson Street, from West Nicolson Street/West Richmond Street in the north to West/East Cross Causeway in the south, including the south side of West Richmond Street between Nicolson Street and Davie Street.
12	Both sides of Clerk Street, from West/East Cross Causeway in the north to Rankeillor Street/Gifford Park in the south, including St. Patrick Square.
13	Both sides of South Clerk Street, from Gifford Park/Rankeillor Street in the north to Hope Park Terrace/Bernard Terrace in the south.
14	Both sides of South Clerk Street from Hope Park Terrace/Bernard Terrace in the north to the north side of West/East Preston Street in the south.
15	Two blocks along both sides of Newington Road, including the south sides of West/East Preston Street and north of Salisbury Place/Salisbury Road.

Table 3: St. Giles Study Area descriptions

Area	Location
1	Ground floor, St. James Centre.
2	The two blocks east of South St. David's Street bounded by Princes Street to the south and St. Andrew's Square to the north, the Balmoral Hotel, and one block bounded by Leith Street, Waterloo Place and Calton Road.
3	One block bounded by George Street to the south, Hanover Street to the east, Frederick Street to the west and Thistle Street to the north, the east side of Frederick Street from Thistle Street to Queen Street, and the eastern half of a block bounded by George Street to the south, Frederick Street to the east, Castle Street to the west and Hill Street to the north.
4	Waverly Shopping Centre, basement and sub-basement levels.
5	Each side of the road of one block of Shandwick Place, west of the intersection with Princes Street, including Rutland Place.
6	Each side of the road of two blocks of Queensferry Street, from the junction with Princes Street to the intersection of Melville Street and Randolph Place.
7	Each side of two blocks along Rose Street **only**, excluding buildings at the intersections between Rose Street and Frederick Street, between Rose Street and Castle Street, and between Rose Street and South Charlotte Street.
8	Two blocks, bounded by Princes Street to the south, South Charlotte Street to the west, and Frederick Street to the east, but **excluding** Rose Street.
9	Two blocks, bounded by Princes Street to the south, Rose Street to the north, Frederick Street to the west and South Street David Street to the east.
10	Two blocks bounded by George Street to the north, Rose Street to the south, Frederick Street to the west and South St. David Street to the east.
11	One block bounded by George Street to the north, Castle Street to the west and Frederick St to the east, but **excluding** Rose Street, and including buildings on the western side of Castle Street between Rose Street and George Street.

Table 4: Princes Street Study Area descriptions

Appendix 6: Automating Data entry into FileMaker.

68 possible uses listed in the site data entry options.		
Amusements	Entrance	Office
Antiques	Est. Agent	Optician
Baker	Florist	P. H.
Baker & Restaurant	Foot WR	Private Car Park
Bank	Furniture	Records
Bar	Furniture & Carpets	Restaurant
Betting Office	Garage	Solicitors. Agent
Bldg. Soc.	Gifts	Sports/WR/GDS
Bookshop	Grocer	Store
Butcher	Hall	Supermarket
Cafe	Hair	T/A Foods
Cards & Gifts	Household Goods	Tartans & Tweeds
Casual Wear	Jeweller	Toiletries/Cosmetics
Charity Shop	Knitwear	Travel Agent
Chemist	L & M & C/WR	Under Alteration
Church	L & M/WR & Foot WR	Under Construction
Clothing	L & M/WR	University Building
C/WR	L/Hair	Vacant
C T N: Confectioner, Tobacconist, Newsagent	L/WR	Vacant/Under Alteration
Delicatessen	Leather Goods	Wallpaper & Paint
Department Store	M/Hair	Warehouse
Dwelling	M/WR	Wine Bar
D/C	Off License	**Other**

Table 5: Use choices provided by the FileMaker database for quick entry